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ABSTRACT

This package includes a guide for formation and implementation of community study circles on cultural diversity, an abridged version of the same text entitled "A Busy Citizen's Discussion Guide", for study circle participants, and a 23-minute videotape recording. The main guide begins with a section on the need for community conversations, based on democratic values, concerning our country and its communities. A subsequent section on use of the guide provides information on the principles underlying study circles, study circle organization, tips for intercultural collaboration, basic steps in creating community-wide dialogue, suggestions for study circle leaders, use of the videotape, and guidelines for participants. A section is devoted to addressing challenges in cross-cultural communication. Discussion materials for four sessions follow. Topics include: "Who Are We? The Many Faces of America"; "Bonds and Boundaries: Looking at Our Communities"; "Visions of America: What Ties Us Together?"; and "Making a Difference: What Can We Do To Build a Stronger Community in an Age of Diversity?". A list of additional readings on diversity and union and a list of additional resources for discussion and action are appended. The abridged participant guide contains pages 1-35 of the main guide. (MSE)

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Toward a More Perfect Union

In an Age of Diversity

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A Guide for Building Stronger Communities through Public Dialogue

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Toward a More Perfect Union: An Invitation to Conversation, a 23-minute video companion piece created by A More Perfect Union (1996), and available from the Study Circles Resource Center when used in study circle programs.

Talk to Me: Americans in Conversation, a 60-minute feature documentary, produced and directed by Andrea Simon, Arcadia Pictures (1996), and available from The Cinema Guild.

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Study Circles Resource Center (SCRC) is a project of the Topsfield Foundation, Inc., a nonprofit, nonpartisan foundation dedicated to advancing deliberative democracy and improving the quality of public life in the United States. SCRC carries out its mission by promoting the use of small-group, democratic, highly participatory discussions known as study circles.

For more information, contact SCRC at P.O. Box 203, Pomfret, CT 06258-0203; 860/928-2616 (phone); 860/928-3713 (fax); or <scrc@neca.com>.

You are welcome to photocopy this publication as needed, or you can order additional copies of *Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity: A Guide for Building Stronger Communities through Public Dialogue* from SCRC for $5.00 each, plus $2.00 per order for shipping and handling; discounts are available for large orders. *The Busy Citizen's Discussion Guide: Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity* is designed as a handout for participants in discussion programs based on this guide; it mainly consists of the Discussion Materials section of this guide. Copies of this abridged version, in a 5 1/2 x 8 1/2 format, are priced at $1.00 each, plus $2.00 per order for shipping and handling; again, discounts are available for large orders.

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Cover

Map Quilt, quiltmaker unidentified, possibly Virginia, 1886. Collection of Museum of American Folk Art, New York. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. C. David McLaughlin.

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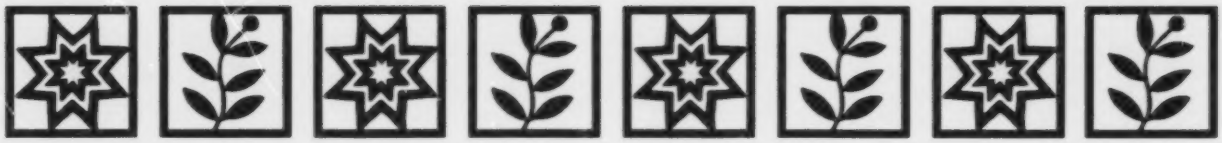

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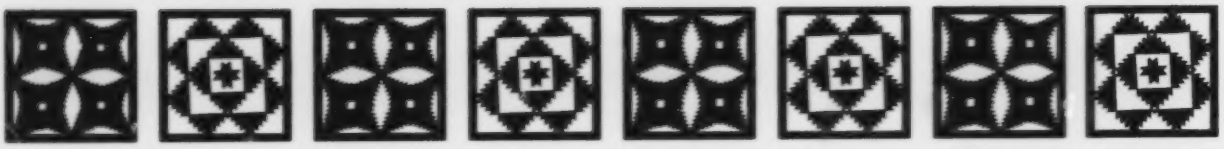


Needed!
Democratic conversations about our country and our communities

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union … do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Moving toward "a more perfect union" has been one of our principal ideals since the founding of our nation. And it is an ideal that has persisted. In our homes, our schools, and our media, the ideal of the union has been heralded, studied, passed down, and revered. The struggle to fulfill this ideal has led both to inspiring strides and to painful strains. Throughout our history, there have been times of great questioning about what the ideal means and how to achieve it.

This is a time of great questioning. There is a lot of talk about the United States becoming more diverse, and about what that means for our country. At the same time that we are focusing more attention on racial and ethnic diversity, we are hearing more and more about other kinds of "group identities" such as religion, ideology, gender, and sexual orientation.

Tensions about the *meaning* of this diversity become apparent as soon as we talk with each other about the state of our union. Sometimes it seems we are surrounded by a war of words. Diversity. Unity. Patriotism. Pluralism. Races. Ethnicity. Group identity. Political correctness. Multiculturalism. Culture wars. Words tap deep feelings, and they can mean very different things to different people. Even the word "American" can bring out strong conflicting feelings between strangers, neighbors, and family members.

But the conflicts we face are about more than words. The tensions that come out in our language reflect varied concerns and ideas about where we should go as a country. These pressures are visible in many of our most complex public issues, such as education, taxes, welfare, and immigration. In many communities, these tensions are evident in daily life — whether in open conflict among groups, or in tensions and misperceptions that simmer just beneath the surface. Caught in these real-life complexities and divisions, some people are even questioning our ability to live together.

But this is also a time of hope and community building, especially at the local level. A growing number of leaders are exploring ways to bring people together, across differences, to work through issues of diversity. In the process, people are finding that they have common concerns, and that they can work together to address them — even on the very issues that are related to their differences.

It is the conviction of these leaders that, in a democracy, the only successful resolution of these questions and tensions is one that every person actively takes part in. "We the people" can and must find ways to move toward a more perfect union in an age of diversity. Many community leaders, from every sector and background, believe that this is a critical time to consider what we hold in common, what keeps us apart, and how we can work together to build a stronger, better place for all of us.

That conviction is the premise of this guide. Its purpose is to help people have the honest, productive, democratic conversations that are at the heart of beginning to live and work together well.

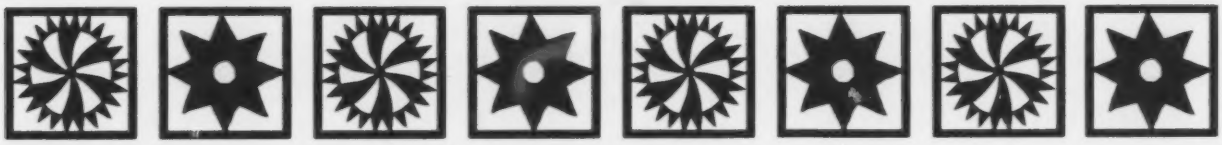
Starting where we are: Addressing our diversity and creating community

Even the most complicated tasks begin with a few concrete steps. In each city and town throughout the U.S., we must create opportunities for everyday people to sit down together, get to know one another, and exchange ideas about the problems and issues facing our communities. Such democratic conversations bring together people of different ethnic backgrounds and races; of different religious and political views; of different jobs and income levels; from different neighborhoods, life circumstances and lifestyles — people who share this country, but seldom have a chance to share their views about it or work together to make it a better place.

The discussion process set forth in this guide is a practical way to accomplish this. Study circles — small-group, democratic, peer-led discussions — provide a simple way to involve community members in genuine, productive dialogue. Over several sessions, community members have the chance to:

- respectfully hear each other's experiences, concerns, and viewpoints. In this way, people can come to better understand and appreciate others, rethink stereotypes and misperceptions, and build relationships.
- begin to heal our divisions, by learning about our history and coming to terms with it.
- grapple with the many sides of public problems, and search together for common ground and for ways to address those problems.
- consider together: What does it mean to be an "American"? What is our image of the America of the next century? What picture of an ideal America will inform our struggles with current issues? Can we identify those values and commitments that we need to share if we are to be a successful society?

When people have the opportunity to deal directly and openly with their differences, they learn to appreciate and respect each other. They also discover common concerns and develop strong networks to work together on those concerns. The result of these efforts is more than "getting along" — it is the healing and renewal of our civic life.



Using this Study Circle Guide

The Design of this Guide

Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity offers a practical road map for organizing study circles — small-group, democratic, peer-led discussions where community members can engage in genuine, productive dialogue.

Think of the first two sections of the guide as an organizer's toolbox. The first section contains basic suggestions for organizing, leading, and taking part in the discussions. The second section contains suggestions for meeting the challenges of cross-cultural communication.

The third section of the guide lays out the material for a four-session discussion program. This third section also appears in a separate publication designed for participant use, *The Busy Citizen's Guide.*

The final section of this guide includes several supplemental readings, and provides a resource list of organizations, publications, and videos that can aid further discussion and action.

Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity can also be used with two related documentary films: an hour-long documentary for public television called *Talk to Me: Americans in Conversation* and a 20-minute discussion-starter version of the film, entitled *Toward a More Perfect Union.* Both films were produced by Arcadia Pictures and funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The discussion-starter, created to work with each of the four sessions of this guide, is available from Study Circles Resource Center (SCRC). (See the back cover for contact information.) Some comments made by participants in the video are included here under the heading "What some Americans are saying ... ."

Our goal in providing this guide is to offer workable suggestions — a hands-on starting place, not the final word. Since each community has unique issues, challenges, and assets, we welcome and encourage you to adapt this guide to meet your specific needs.

Please stay in touch with us as you implement the ideas in this guide! The Study Circles Resource Center can assist as you organize your program and put you in touch with others who are doing similar work. What we learn from you, we will share with a growing network of communities that are using public dialogue to strengthen community life.

What is a Study Circle?

The study circle is a simple process for small-group deliberation. There are just a few defining characteristics:

- A study circle is comprised of 10-15 people who meet regularly over a period of weeks or months to address a critical public issue in a democratic and collaborative way.
- A study circle is facilitated by a person who is there not to act as an expert on the issue, but to serve the group by keeping the discussion

focused, helping the group consider a variety of views, and asking difficult questions.

- A study circle examines many perspectives. The way in which study circle facilitators are trained and discussion materials are written gives everyone "a home in the conversation," and helps the group deliberate on the various views and explore areas of common ground.
- A study circle progresses from a session on personal experience ("how does the issue affect me?") to sessions providing a broader perspective ("what are others saying about the issue?") to a session on action ("what can we do about the issue here?").

What is a community-wide study circle program?

Study circles can take place within organizations, such as schools, unions, or government agencies. Yet, they have their greatest reach and impact when organizations across a community work together to create large-scale programs. These community-wide programs engage large numbers — in some cases thousands — of citizens in a community in study circles on a public issue such as race relations, crime and violence, or education. Broad sponsoring coalitions result in strong, diverse community participation. People participate in the study circles because they see that it provides an opportunity to make an impact on an issue they care about.

How do community-wide study circle programs come into being?

Typically, a single organization such as a mayor's office, a school board, or a human relations commission spearheads and staffs the project. In most communities, the organizing begins when the initiating organization approaches other key organizations to build a sponsoring coalition. Most community-wide programs have 10-30 organizations as sponsors or endorsers. Grassroots organizations such as churches, neighborhood associations, businesses, schools, and clubs often take part.

What are the outcomes of community-wide study circle programs?

By participating in study circles, citizens gain ownership of the issues, discover a connection between personal experiences and public policies, and gain a deeper understanding of their own and others' perspectives and concerns. They discover common ground and a greater desire and ability to work collaboratively to solve local problems — as individuals, as members of small groups, and as members of large organizations in the community. Community-wide study circle programs foster new connections among community members that lead to new levels of community action. They also create new connections between citizens and government, both at an institutional level and at the level of parents and teachers, community members and social service providers, residents and police officers.

If you would like to know where community-wide study circles are happening, or where study circle coalitions are forming, please contact the Study Circles Resource Center.

Organizing Study Circles Using Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity

Cultural diversity and intergroup relations are at the heart of the most pressing community concerns. But, as important as diversity issues are, community members may be reticent to talk about them. It's often only after a crisis that people realize "we have a problem here, and we should be working together on it." Even then, it's hard for people to know where and how to begin.

Your challenge as a study circle organizer will be to show people the way to begin. You will be working to welcome and include people from every part of the community. It will be important to show people that

the study circles will be safe places where they can share their ideas, listen to others, and work together to make a difference on the issues that affect their lives.

There are a number of ways you can use this guide to build study circles. Think about what will work in your specific situation: what will bring out large numbers of community members? what will draw people from all parts of the community? Central to all of the following strategies is a commitment to bring together a diverse group of people for honest, respectful, democratic dialogue.

1. Organize study circles on an issue of general concern to the community. Consider what will draw broad participation from all sectors and groups. Use all or parts of *Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity* to address the diversity issues that underlie the specific issue in your program.

   Example: In Long Beach, CA, the "Peace Among the People Initiative" is bringing together people from Hispanic, Anglo, and Cambodian backgrounds for study circles on violence, which is of critical concern to all parts of the community. In these study circles (some of which are bilingual), many people will have their first opportunity to meet with fellow community members,,discover common concerns, and begin to work together. *Idea:* In such a program, groups could use Sessions 1 and 2 of this guide before addressing the specific issues of violence they are facing.

2. Organize study circles on race relations and racism. Often racial and ethnic tension is of paramount concern in the community, and so study circle organizers may want to begin with the more specific issue of race. In the process, other diversity issues frequently arise; some of *Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity* could be incorporated into those discussions. Or the guide in its entirety could be used to follow up the study circles on race.

3. Organize study circles on the immigrant experience and what it means to be an American. Especially in communities where recent immigrants are settling, this may be a critical issue to a broad cross-section of people.

   Example: In Somerville, MA, the Somerville Human Rights Commission and Tufts University sponsored a study circle program called "Somerville Conversations on Ethnic Identity, the Immigrant Experience, and What it Means to Be an American." Supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, other sponsors included the Somerville Haitian Coalition, Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers, Centro Presente, the Disability Commission, and the Somerville Interfaith Group.

4. Organize diverse study circles within particular sectors — for example, within the faith community, or among schools. On a smaller scale than a study circle program that aims to include all parts of the community, these programs can consider issues faced by particular institutions. After experiencing participatory discussion, some of the participants may become the leaders who carry the conversations to other sectors of the community.

   When congregations from different faith traditions and ethnic backgrounds pair with each other for dialogue, they have a chance to form new relationships, grapple with public issues, and build community. Participants have the opportunity to explore how their faith informs their perspectives. By using *Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity,* people could explore religious diversity in the community.

   Idea: Frequently, schools are racially and ethnically segregated. Even within "integrated" schools there is not a lot of interaction between groups. Either through school pairing or through study circles within a school, students could have the chance to explore their diversity and consider how to create a school community that works for everyone.

Tips for Multicultural Collaboration

Whatever the scope of your study circle program, keep in mind the next five suggestions offered by Marcelle E. DuPraw of the National Institute for Dispute Resolution.

1. Model effective multicultural relationships. In putting on multicultural initiatives, it is particularly important to assemble a multicultural team. This helps build trust that you are committed to "walking the talk."
2. Plan to invest significantly more upfront time in outreach and follow-up to build trust. Tap into networks (yours and others'), and use word-of-mouth and personal references to enhance your credibility. Personal contact is important. Ask if you can go to meetings of existing groups — church groups, civic associations, coalitions, wherever people meet. Get on their agenda for a few minutes, and make an open invitation. Then follow up formal invitations with personal phone calls.
3. Invite input from a representative group of participants, if not from all of them, into the design of any event. Use their input in noticeable ways, so that they can see their "fingerprints" on it.
4. Find out if anyone needs special support to participate effectively. In any invitations or follow-up conversations, ask if translators, translated materials, large print or audio versions of the materials are needed.
5. Hold events in mutually acceptable locations. Organizers should go to the community to hold events, rather than expect the community to come to them. Some locations will implicitly reinforce power disparities. For example, if a meeting focuses on policy/community tensions, you would not want to hold it at the police station. Attend to access issues for those with disabilities. Oftentimes, an informal environment will help people relax and get to know one another more easily.

Basic Steps in Creating Community-wide Dialogue

- Build a diverse working group of community leaders who are committed to fostering dialogue. It is this group that will get broad community sponsorship for the study circles, work with the media, train the facilitators and set up the groups. Ideal partnerships for a working group include: organizations that have the staff, resources, and media clout to pull the program together; an organization with training expertise; organizations that are connected to everyday community members from every background; and public officials and other top community leaders. Such a working group could include individuals from the mayor's office, the school system, ethnic associations, the community mediation center, the police department, the YMCA and YWCA, an interreligious or interfaith coalition, the NAACP, the Urban League affiliate, and many others.
- Hold a study circle among your working group. This will help solidify your collaboration and help your group better understand the study circle process.
- Decide how your working group will handle the overall coordination of the program. Decide who will recruit study circle participants and leaders, and how participants, leaders, and sites will be matched.
- Identify and recruit sponsors who can lend their resources and credibility to the program. They will expand the power of the study circle coalition and help reach out into the whole community. Think very broadly, and talk with everyone you can think of. The "working group" plus the larger group of sponsors will make a powerful community-wide coalition.
- Hold a few pilot study circles among coalition members. This will help solidify the commitment of sponsors and increase their understanding of the study circle process. Those who participate will gain an increased sense of ownership of the program, and will make a much more powerful call for dialogue to the community.

- Recruit potential discussion leaders. Sometimes the working group takes primary responsibility for this, and sometimes sponsors are asked to help. Whatever the case, recruit individuals from many backgrounds who know how to help people listen and engage in constructive dialogue, and who are comfortable dealing with people of different backgrounds.
- Hold a training session for the discussion leaders. A local college or university, a human relations organization, or a community mediation center is often able to organize this phase of the study circle program. The training organization should be part of the central working group, so that it can provide ongoing support for discussion leaders, and oversee facilitator performance.
- In conjunction with your study circle training, consider holding a session or a training for your facilitators that focuses on cross-cultural communication and sensitivity. Tap into local expertise.
- Recruit participants from a broad cross-section of the community. This is easier, of course, if your coalition is broadly representative of the whole community. Work hard to include people who do not normally get involved in community activities.
- Set a range of dates for the full-fledged program so that all of the study circles in the community will occur more or less within the same time frame.
- Hold a kickoff event to broadcast the study circle program.
- Let the study circles begin!
- Help participants find ways to become actively involved in putting their ideas to work in the community. A concluding event that brings together all the study circles and the sponsoring organizations can be a good way to do this: it can spur the formation of working groups throughout the community, and connect action steps with community institutions and programs.

Tips for Study Circle Leaders

A study circle leader does not need to be an expert (or even the most knowledgeable person in the group) on the topic being discussed, but should be the best prepared for the discussion. This means understanding the goals of the study circle, being familiar with the subject, thinking ahead of time about the directions in which the discussion might go, and preparing the discussion questions to aid the group in considering the subject.

Each session offers several approaches to getting at the key issues. In each session there are too many questions to cover in the typical two-hour time frame. Choose the questions and activities that you believe will be most interesting and relevant to your group. You may want to consider holding extra meetings, especially for Sessions 3 and 4. Whatever you decide, solid preparation will enable you to give your full attention to group dynamics and to what individuals in the group are saying.

Set a relaxed and open tone

- Welcome everyone and create a friendly and relaxed atmosphere.
- Well-placed humor is usually appreciated.

Establish the purpose of the study circle and help the group establish ground rules

At the beginning of the study circle, remind everyone that the purpose of the study circle is to deliberate on the issue at hand in a democratic and collaborative way. Also remind them that your role as leader is to remain neutral, keep the discussion focused, and guide the conversation according to the ground rules.

Suggest a few basic ground rules, and ask participants to add their own ideas. Some basic ground rules include:

- All group members are encouraged to express and reflect on their honest opinions; all views should be respected.

- Though disagreement and conflict about ideas can be useful, disagreements should not be personalized. Put-downs, name-calling, labeling, or personal attacks will not be tolerated.
- If someone says something that offends another member of the group (even if inadvertently), people should feel free to explain how the comment affected them.*
- It is important to hear from everyone. People who tend to speak a lot in groups should make special efforts to allow others the opportunity to speak.

Stay aware of and assist the group process

- Always use your "third eye": you are not only helping to keep the group focused on the content of the discussion, but you will be monitoring how well the participants are communicating with each other — who has spoken, who hasn't spoken, and whose points haven't yet received a fair hearing.
- Consider splitting up into smaller groups to examine a variety of viewpoints or to give people a chance to talk more easily about their personal connection to the issue.
- When wrestling with when to intervene, err on the side of non-intervention. Don't allow the group to make you the "answer person."
- Don't talk after each comment or answer every question; allow participants to respond directly to each other. The most effective leaders often say little, but are constantly thinking about how to move the group toward its goals.
- Occasionally give participants a chance to sum up the most important points that have come out in the discussion.
- Don't be afraid of silence. It will sometimes take a while for someone to offer an answer to a question you pose.
- Don't let anyone dominate; try to involve everyone.
- Remember: a study circle is not a debate but a group dialogue. If participants forget this, don't hesitate to ask the group to help re-establish the ground rules.

Help the group grapple with various points of view

- The best way to help people grapple with a range of views is to keep your own view out of the fray. Your role as facilitator requires that participants see you as neutral and fair, not favoring any one point of view.
- Make sure the group considers a wide range of views. Ask the group to think about the advantages and disadvantages of different ways of looking at an issue or solving a problem. In this way, the trade-offs involved in making tough choices become apparent.
- Ask participants to think about the concerns and values that underlie their beliefs.
- Don't allow the group to focus on or be overly influenced by one particular personal experience or anecdote.
- Either summarize the discussion occasionally or encourage group members to do so.
- Remain neutral about content and be cautious about expressing your own values.
- Help participants to identify "common ground," but don't try to force consensus.

Ask open-ended questions that don't lend themselves to easy answers

- What seems to be the key point here?
- What is the crux of your disagreement?
- Does anyone want to add to (or support, or challenge) that point?
- Could you give an example or describe a personal experience to illustrate that point?
- Could you help us understand the reasons behind your opinion?
- What experiences or beliefs might lead decent and caring people to support that point of view?
- What do you think people who hold that opinion care deeply about?
- What would be a strong case against what you just said?

- What do you find most persuasive about that point of view?
- What is it about that position that you just cannot live with?
- Are there any points on which most of us would agree?

Close the discussion with a summary, looking ahead to the next meeting, and evaluation

- Give participants a chance to talk about the most important thing they gained from the discussion. Or you may wish to ask participants to share any new ideas or thoughts they've had as a result of the discussion.
- If you will be meeting again, remind the group of the readings and subject for the next session.
- Thank everyone for their contributions.
- Provide some time for the group to evaluate the group process, either through sharing aloud or through a brief written evaluation.

Be aware of the dynamics of cross-cultural communication

Awareness of cross-cultural dynamics is always useful in a study circle setting, but this is especially true when diversity issues themselves are the subject of conversation.

- Sensitivity, empathy, and familiarity with people of different backgrounds are essential qualities for the leader.
- Even though some of the conversation inevitably revolves around differences, set a tone of unity in the group. After all, we have more similarities as human beings than differences as members of particular groups. Having co-moderators from different demographic groups can help establish unity. For example, the co-leaders could be a man and a woman, a white person and a person of color, an adult and a young person.
- Help people to appreciate and respect their own and others' communication styles. People's cultural backgrounds affect the ways in which they communicate. For example, some cultures tend to be more outspoken and directive, while others are more reserved. Some cultures value listening more than speaking. In other cultures, taking a stand is of utmost importance. Help group members to realize there is no "right" way to communicate, and that understanding one another takes practice! Your leadership should demonstrate that each person has an important and unique contribution to make to the group.
- Don't let participants' awareness of cultural norms lead to stereotyping. Generalizations don't necessarily apply to individuals within a culture.
- Remind the group, if necessary, that no one can represent his or her entire culture. Each person's experiences, as an individual and as a member of a group, are unique and valid. As one African-American woman said of black-white communication, "When you have some African-Americans in your group, the whites shouldn't think they are getting 'the black perspective'; but, without African-Americans in the group, whites won't hear any black perspectives."
- Encourage group members to use their own experiences as they attempt to empathize with those who have been victims of discrimination. Many people who have been in a minority group have experiences that make this discussion a very personal issue. Others, particularly those who are usually in the majority, may not have thought as extensively about their own culture and its effects on their lives. To aid this, you may want to encourage people to think about times in their own lives when they have been treated unfairly, or to think about times when their own cultural group was oppressed. For those study circle participants who are currently at the receiving end of mistreatment, this could seem invalidating unless you explain that you are trying to build empathy and understanding among all members. Remind people that no one can know exactly what it feels like to be in anyone else's shoes.

- Encourage group members to talk about their own cultures, rather than other people's cultures. In this way, they will be less likely to make inaccurate generalizations about other cultures. Also, listening to others recount their own experiences breaks down stereotypes and broadens understanding.

The Discussion-starter Videotape

A 20-minute discussion-starter tape is available for you to use with this guide. The tape presents four sections that are designed to accompany each of the sessions in the guide. The perspectives contained in the video may round out those presented by your group members. Some quotations from the video are included in each session under the heading "What some Americans are saying ... ."

Here are some suggestions for working the video clips into your study circle:

- Ahead of time, make sure you have a working VCR and television at the study circle site.
- The discussion leader should watch the tape before your discussions begin.
- We recommend that, as a group, you view one section of the video at a time (rather than watching the 20-minute tape straight-through).
- You might start your discussion by showing the appropriate section of the videotape, or you can show it during your conversation.
- Be prepared to rewind the tape and view a section again, if that seems helpful.

Guidelines for Study Circle Participants

The goal of a study circle is not to learn a lot of facts; the goal is to deepen understanding and judgment, and to think about ways to make a difference on a community issue you care about. This can occur in a safe, focused discussion when people exchange views freely and consider a variety of views. The process — democratic discussion among equals — is as important as the content.

The following points are intended to help you make the most of your study circle experience.

- Make a good effort to attend all meetings. The comfort level and depth of conversation depend upon familiarity with other participants.
- Think together about what you want to get out of your conversation.
- Help keep the discussion on track. Make sure your remarks are relevant.
- Speak your mind freely, but don't monopolize the conversation.
- Listen carefully to others. Try to really understand what they are saying and respond to it, especially when their ideas are different from yours. Try to avoid building your own arguments in your head while others are talking. If you're afraid you'll forget to make a point, write it down.
- Be open to changing your mind. This will help you really listen to others' views.
- When disagreement occurs, don't personalize it. Do keep talking, and explore the disagreement. Search for the common concerns beneath the surface.
- Don't waste time arguing about points of fact. For the time being, you may need to agree to disagree and then move one. You might decide to check out the facts together before your next meeting.
- Value one another's experiences. Think about how your own experiences have contributed to your thinking.
- Help to develop one another's ideas. Listen carefully, and ask clarifying questions.

Working on Common Cross-cultural Communication Challenges

by Marcelle E. DuPraw and Marya Axner

We all have an internal list of those we still don't understand, let alone appreciate. We all have biases, even prejudices, toward specific groups. In our workshops we ask people to gather in pairs and think about their hopes and fears in relating to people of a group different from their own. Fears usually include being judged, miscommunication, and patronizing or hurting others unintentionally; hopes are usually the possibility of dialogue, learning something new, developing friendships, and understanding different points of view. After doing this activity hundreds of times, I'm always amazed how similar the lists are. At any moment that we're dealing with people different from ourselves, the likelihood is that they carry a similar list of hopes and fears in their back pocket.
— From *Waging Peace in Our Schools*, by Linda Lantieri and Janet Patti, Beacon Press, 1996

We all communicate with others all the time — in our homes, in our workplaces, in the groups we belong to, and in the community. No matter how well we think we understand each other, communication is hard. Just think, for example, how often we hear things like, "He doesn't get it," or "She didn't really hear what I meant to say."

"Culture" is often at the root of communication challenges. Our culture influences how we approach problems, and how we participate in groups and in communities. When we participate in groups we are often surprised at how differently people approach their work together.

Culture is a complex concept, with many different definitions. But, simply put, "culture" refers to a group or community with which we share common experiences that shape the way we understand the world. It includes groups that we are born into, such as gender, race, or national origin. It also includes groups we join or become part of. For example, we can acquire a new culture by moving to a new region, by a change in our economic status, or by becoming disabled. When we think of culture this broadly, we realize we all belong to many cultures at once.

Our histories are a critical piece of our cultures. Historical experiences — whether of five years ago or of ten generations back — shape who we are. Knowledge of our history can help us understand ourselves and one another better. Exploring the ways in which various groups within our society have related to each other is key to opening channels for cross-cultural communication.

Six fundamental patterns of cultural differences

In a world as complex as ours, each of us is shaped by many factors, and culture is one of the powerful forces that acts on us. Anthropologists Kevin Avruch and Peter Black explain the importance of culture this way: "... One's own culture provides the 'lens' through which we view the world; the 'logic' ... by which we order it; the 'grammar' ... by which it makes sense."[1] In other words, culture is central to what we see, how we make sense of what we see, and how we express ourselves.

As people from different cultural groups take on the exciting challenge of working together, cultural values sometimes conflict. We can misunderstand each other, and react in ways that can hinder what are otherwise promising partnerships. Oftentimes, we aren't aware that culture is acting upon us. Sometimes, we are not even aware that we have cultural values or assumptions that are different from others'!

Six fundamental patterns of cultural differences — ways in which cultures, as a whole, tend to vary from one another — are described below. The descriptions point out some of the recurring causes of cross-cultural communication difficulties.[2] As you enter into multicultural dialogue or collaboration, keep these generalized differences in mind. Next time you find yourself in a confusing situation, and you suspect that cross-cultural differences are at play, try reviewing this list. Ask yourself how culture may be shaping your own reactions, and try to see the world from others' points of view.

1. *Different Communication Styles*

   The way people communicate varies widely between, and even within, cultures. One aspect of communication style is language usage. Across cultures, some words and phrases are used in different ways. For example, even in countries that share the English language, the meaning of "yes" varies from "maybe, I'll consider it" to "definitely so," with many shades in between.

   Another major aspect of communication style is the degree of importance given to non-verbal communication. Non-verbal communication includes not only facial expressions and gestures; it also involves seating arrangements, personal distance, and sense of time. In addition, different norms regarding the appropriate degree of assertiveness in communicating can add to cultural misunderstandings. For instance, some white Americans typically consider raised voices to be a sign that a fight has begun, while some black, Jewish and Italian Americans often feel that an increase in volume is a sign of an exciting conversation among friends. Thus, some white Americans may react with greater alarm to a loud discussion than would members of some American ethnic or non-white racial groups.

2. *Different Attitudes Toward Conflict*

   Some cultures view conflict as a positive thing, while others view it as something to be avoided. In the U.S., conflict is not usually desirable, but people often are encouraged to deal directly with conflicts that do arise. In fact, face-to-face meetings customarily are recommended as the way to work through whatever problems exist. In contrast, in many Eastern countries, open conflict is experienced as embarrassing or demeaning; as a rule, differences are best worked out quietly. A written exchange might be the favored means to address the conflict.

3. *Different Approaches to Completing Tasks*

   From culture to culture, there are different ways that people move toward completing tasks. Some reasons include different access to resources, different judgments of the rewards associated with task

completion, different notions of time, and varied ideas about how relationship building and task-oriented work should go together.

When it comes to working together effectively on a task, cultures differ with respect to the importance placed on establishing relationships early on in the collaboration. A case in point, Asian and Hispanic cultures tend to attach more value to developing relationships at the beginning of a shared project and more emphasis on task completion toward the end as compared with European-Americans. European-Americans tend to focus immediately on the task at hand, and let relationships develop as they work on the task. This does not mean that people from any one of these cultural backgrounds are more or less committed to accomplishing the task, or value relationships more or less; it means they may pursue them differently.

4. *Different Decision-making Styles*

The roles individuals play in decision-making vary widely from culture to culture. For example, in the U.S., decisions are frequently delegated — that is, an official assigns responsibility for a particular matter to a subordinate. In many Southern European and Latin American countries, there is a strong value placed on holding decision-making responsibilities oneself. When decisions are made by groups of people, majority rule is a common approach in the U.S.; in Japan consensus is the preferred mode. Be aware that individuals' expectations about their own roles in shaping a decision may be influenced by their cultural frame of reference.

5. *Different Attitudes Toward Disclosure*

In some cultures, it is not appropriate to be frank about emotions, about the reasons behind a conflict or a misunderstanding, or about personal information. Keep this in mind when you are in a dialogue or when you are working with others. When you are dealing with a conflict, be mindful that people may differ in what they feel comfortable revealing. Questions that may seem natural to you — What was the conflict about? What was your role in the conflict? What was the sequence of events? — may seem intrusive to others. The variation among cultures in attitudes toward disclosure is also something to consider before you conclude that you have an accurate reading of the views, experiences, and goals of the people with whom you are working.

6. *Different Approaches to Knowing*

Notable differences occur among cultural groups when it comes to epistemologies — that is, the ways people come to know things. European cultures tend to consider information acquired through cognitive means, such as counting and measuring, more valid than other ways of coming to know things. Compare that to African cultures' preference for affective ways of knowing — that is, knowledge that comes from the *experience* of something — including symbolic imagery and rhythm. Asian cultures' epistemologies tend to emphasize the validity of knowledge gained through striving toward transcendence.[3]

Here, in the U.S., with all our cultural mixing and sharing, we can't apply these generalizations to whole groups of people. But we can use them to recognize that there is more than one way to look at the world and to learn. Recent popular works demonstrate that our own society is paying more attention to previously overlooked ways of knowing.[4] Indeed, these different approaches to knowing could affect ways of analyzing a community problem or finding ways to resolve it. Some members of your group may want to do library research to understand a shared problem better and identify possible solutions. Others may prefer to visit places and people who have experienced challenges like the ones you are facing, and get a feeling for what has worked elsewhere.

Respecting our differences and working together

In addition to helping us to understand ourselves and our own cultural frames of reference, knowledge of these six patterns of cultural difference can help us to understand the people who are different from us. An appreciation of patterns of cultural difference can assist us in processing what it means to be different in ways that are respectful of others, not faultfinding or damaging.

Anthropologists Avruch and Black have noted that, when faced by an interaction that we do not understand, people tend to interpret the others involved as "abnormal," "weird," or "wrong".[5] This tendency, if indulged, gives rise on the individual level to prejudice. If this propensity is either consciously or unconsciously integrated into organizational structures, then prejudice takes root in our institutions — in the structures, laws, policies, and procedures that shape our lives. Consequently, it is vital that we learn to control the human tendency to translate "different from me" into "less than me." We *can* learn to do this.

We can also learn to collaborate across cultural lines as individuals and as a society. Awareness of cultural differences doesn't have to divide us from each other. It doesn't have to paralyze us either, for fear of not saying the "right thing." In fact, becoming more aware of our cultural differences, as well as exploring our similarities, can help us communicate with each other more effectively. Recognizing where cultural differences are at work is the first step toward understanding and respecting each other.

Learning about different ways that people communicate can enrich our lives. People's different communication styles reflect deeper philosophies and world views which are the foundation of their culture. Understanding these deeper philosophies gives us a broader picture of what the world has to offer us.

Learning about people's cultures has the potential to give us a mirror image of our own. We have the opportunity to challenge our assumptions about the "right" way of doing things, and consider a variety of approaches. We have a chance to learn new ways to solve problems that we had previously given up on, accepting the difficulties as "just the way things are."

Lastly, if we are open to learning about people from other cultures, we become less lonely. Prejudice and stereotypes separate us from whole groups of people who could be friends and partners in working for change. Many of us long for real contact. Talking with people different from ourselves gives us hope and energizes us to take on the challenge of improving our communities.

Cultural questions — about who we are and how we identify ourselves — are at the heart of *Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity*, and will be at the heart of your discussions. As you set to work on multicultural collaboration in your community, keep in mind these additional guidelines:

- Learn from generalizations about other cultures, but don't use those generalizations to stereotype, "write off," or oversimplify your ideas about another person. The best use of a generalization is to add it to your storehouse of knowledge so that you better understand and appreciate other interesting, multifaceted human beings.
- Practice, practice, practice. That's the first rule, because it's in the doing that we actually get better at cross-cultural communication.
- Don't assume that there is one right way (yours!) to communicate. Keep questioning your assumptions about the "right way" to communicate. For example, think about your body language; postures that indicate receptivity in one culture might indicate aggressiveness in another.

- Don't assume that breakdowns in communication occur because other people are on the wrong track. Search for ways to make the communication work, rather than searching for who should receive the blame for the breakdown.
- Listen actively and empathetically. Try to put yourself in the other person's shoes. Especially when another person's perceptions or ideas are very different from your own, you might need to operate at the edge of your own comfort zone.
- Respect others' choices about whether to engage in communication with you. Honor their opinions about what is going on.
- Stop, suspend judgment, and try to look at the situation as an outsider.
- Be prepared for a discussion of the past. Use this as an opportunity to develop an understanding from "the other's" point of view, rather than getting defensive or impatient. Acknowledge historical events that have taken place. Be open to learning more about them. Honest acknowledgment of the mistreatment and oppression that have taken place on the basis of cultural difference is vital for effective communication.
- Awareness of current power imbalances — and an openness to hearing each other's perceptions of those imbalances — is also necessary for understanding each other and working together.
- Remember that cultural norms may not apply to the behavior of any particular individual. We are all shaped by many, many factors — our ethnic background, our family, our education, our personalities — and are more complicated than any cultural norm could suggest. Check your interpretations if you are uncertain what is meant.

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Endnotes

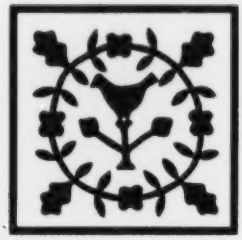
[1] Avruch, Kevin and Peter Black, "Conflict Resolution in Inter-cultural Settings: Problems and Prospects," in *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application,* edited by Dennis Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

[2] This list and some of the explanatory text is drawn from DuPraw and Warfield (1991), an informally published workshop manual co-authored by one of the authors of this piece.

[3] Nichols, Edwin J., a presentation made to the World Psychiatric Association and Association of Psychiatrists in Nigeria, November 10, 1976.

[4] For example, for research on women's approaches to knowledge, see Lorraine Code, *What Can She Know?: Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge.* Ithaca: Cornell, 1991; M.F. Belenky, N.R. Goldberger, & J. M. Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of the Self, Voice and Mind.* New York: Basic Books, 1986; Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development.* Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA, 1982.

[5] Avruch and Black, 1993.



1 Who Are We? The Many Faces of America

One beautiful, powerful question that we can ask each other is "What is your experience?"
— Mary Pipher, psychologist

How can we talk productively about the state of our union? One way to start is with our own stories, our own experiences, and a basic question: Why do we describe ourselves and each other in so many different ways?

When asked who we are, or when describing someone else, we mention race, or religion, or home state. Sometimes we vary these descriptions depending on the audience and what we think people are trying to find out. When asked about our national identity, some of us feel comfortable saying, "I'm an American," and some of us don't. Some of us hyphenate the description, to include our country of origin, or describe ourselves in other ways.

What do these labels mean to us? There is a lot of passionate talk about the "right way" to describe each other. Do these labels reveal something about our past experiences, present concerns, or hopes? Do these descriptions reveal our attitudes toward our country or about who belongs here?

By telling our stories, we may discover how our diverse experiences have shaped us, divided us, and linked us. Through this dialogue, we may come to understand each other better and begin to find ways to move toward a more perfect union.

Discussion Starters

1. Introduce and describe yourself to the group.

   (a) Why have you described yourself the way that you have? In what ways are the group members' descriptions alike or different? What do you make of these similarities and differences?

   (b) In what ways have your upbringing, experiences, or thinking influenced your description?

   (c) Might you vary your response in different situations or company? Why or why not?

2. How have others described you?

   (a) Do the ways that others see and describe you match the ways you think about yourself, or are their descriptions different from your own?

   (b) In his interview for the film *Talk to Me: Americans in Conversation,* historian John Kuo Wei Tchen said,

   People always ask me where I'm from. If they're Chinese, I need to tell them that I'm from JiangXi Province. If they're American, it's not enough to tell them I'm from Wisconsin. I have to tell them that my parents came from China. I was born in General Hospital the year after my family arrived in this country, and I'm the first American citizen in the family.

   What does his statement mean to you?

3. Think about the labels you use for yourself or that others use to describe you. Who or what do these labels connect you to? Who or what might they set you apart from? What does this suggest about your connection to the country?

Activities

1. View Section 1 of the discussion-starter video *Toward a More Perfect Union* with the whole group.

2. Take a moment to read each of the quotations under the heading "What some Americans are saying." How do these quotes relate to the discussion today? Which statement do you find most interesting? Why?

3. Relate a story that expresses an important aspect of your heritage, or of becoming or being American.

4. (a) Pair up and interview each other about your family backgrounds. When you reconvene with the whole group, you will be telling your partner's story. You might start your interview with these questions: "Where were you born?" "Where did other family members come from?" "How did your family express your cultural heritage — through language, cooking, faith, music, or in some other way?" "Have the same traditions and values remained important to you?" Add your own questions. When the group reconvenes, try to retell your partner's story. All together, consider the similarities and differences in your experiences.

   (b) You might follow these introductions with further discussion about how your families handled cultural differences. In what cases did your family adapt or assimilate; in what cases did your family maintain your own traditions? How frequent or infrequent were interactions with different cultural groups, and what were those interactions like?

   (c) If your discussion group wants to go even deeper, look at the role that prejudice played in your homes. Did you learn attitudes of prejudice or tolerance when you were growing up? Was part of growing up learning how to cope with prejudice? What do you think about this in hindsight? Have times changed?

5. Divide into groups of two or three. Tell each other about funny, awkward, or painful situations that have to do with how people describe each other. You might recount a time when you were unsure of how to address or describe someone from a different group, or a time when you knew that someone felt unsure of how to describe you. What, if anything, do these moments tell us?

What some Americans are saying ...

I have German on my father's side and Irish on my mother's. It was quite an interesting marriage, a German and an Irish person. Then, on my mother's side, my grandfather was an American Indian.
— *Debra Burtle, businesswoman*

My padrino, Cleofes Vigil, used to be asked all the time how long he had been in this country. And Cleofes would look at them very pensively and say, "I can take you to my grandfather's grave and to his grandfather's grave and to his grandfather's grave. That's how long I've been in this country." I think our family goes back to 1598, to the settlement and conquest of New Mexico.
— *Vicente Martinez, photographer/community organizer*

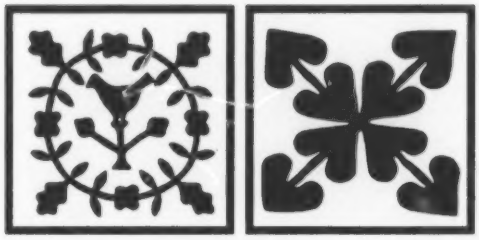
All I know is that I came from North Carolina and happened to move to Pittsburgh, PA, and I'm an American. That's my vision, where people begin to realize that we have nothing else but this.
— *Ray Henderson, social worker/ex-steelworker*

We live in West Orange, New Jersey. Basically we're just an all-American family, other than being African-American and Native American.
— *Monique Perry, student*

Each generation of our family moves away from where we started. I really don't practice any of the Italian customs; I couldn't really tell you what any of them are.
— *Greg Vadala, student*

How many generations does it take for somebody to be called an American? What is a hyphenated American? — *Ammiel Alcalay, writer/translator*

I feel limited by the classifications that we have to put ourselves into. What are you? OK, I'm a white Jewish male. Oh, you're Jewish, are you Sephardic or Ashkenazi? I'm Ashkenazi. Are you from Eastern Europe or Russia? I'm from Eastern Europe. OK, I'm an American. Are you liberal, conservative or moderate? I'm moderate. Baseball: do you like the Mets or the Yankees? I happen to like the Mets.
— *Jared Michael Strauss, student*



2 Bonds and Boundaries: Looking at our Communities

Our common life is shaped by the ways that we come together in groups. Americans link up with each other in so many ways. Sometimes geography brings us together in a neighborhood or town. Sometimes we come together through organizations or institutions. Sometimes we choose the groups we belong to; sometimes they come with birth or shared history.

Learning where and how people connect also reveals where they don't connect. Communities or groups create bonds *and* boundaries, insiders *and* outsiders. When some people don't feel welcome or comfortable, when they feel they're being cut out or threatened, it affects the spirit of the entire community. Learning how our actions or attitudes affect each other will prepare us to imagine what it would take to create a better life together.

Discussion Starters

There are more questions here than you will have time to address. Choose a few that you think will be most interesting to your group.

1. What groups do you belong to? Are you a volunteer fireman, a voice in the community chorus, or a soccer player? Do you belong to a congregation, an ethnic club, the PTA, or another group? Consider how important these connections are to your daily life. What do you gain? What do you give? Why?

2. How do you decide who your "own people" are? What groups do you identify with because of shared life circumstances or common experiences? Describe where and when you feel connected, part of a community.

3. What traditions, values, or beliefs are important to the core groups you belong to? How did you learn them? How important have they been to you?

4. Imagine that someone from outside your group wants to learn something about your group's history in order to understand you better. What stories would you tell that person?

5. Have you ever felt like an outsider? When, if ever, do you feel that you don't fit in? Describe the signs that say you belong and the ones that say you don't.

   (a) When you're on the outside, how does that affect you? When you're on the inside, who's been left out? Why? How tough is it to be a member of a community when you don't entirely fit in?

6. How often do you feel very aware of one aspect of your identity? How often do you feel that you are out of place or even in danger?

7. Describe what, if any, obstacles prevent you from enjoying the best that your community has to offer. Do you think that people here are treated differently depending on some aspect of their identity or background? What examples can you give?

8. Are there tensions in your community that surface in the schools, in neighborhoods, or around economic issues, such as jobs, taxes, and social services? Do you think these tensions are rooted in inequalities based on difference? What examples from the past or the present would you give to support your position?

Activities

1. View Section 2 of the video *Toward a More Perfect Union* with the whole group.

2. Take a moment to read each of the quotations under the heading "What some Americans are saying." How do these quotes relate to the discussion today? Which statement do you find most interesting? Why?

3. A survey conducted for the National Conference in 1994 found that members of every group stereotype other groups. Stereotypes almost always contribute to community tension. To explore how this happens here:

   - List three words that describe a group you identify with. Now, list three words that others might use to stereotype your group.
   - How do you think these stereotypes started?
   - What stereotypes would you like to dispel?
   - How do you think these stereotypes affect the ways the groups in our communities get along?
   - How do you respond when you hear a stereotype being used to describe yourself or someone else?

4. Take this opportunity to let each other know about the places in your area that have special meaning for the groups that you identify with. These could be places that are full of memories, that tell or mark your group's history, or that are places where people like to gather. Describe how and why these places are special.

5. *Americans have had some trouble looking at a place like Central Illinois and trying to figure out what communities are there. Although people spread themselves out over the open countryside, they established important and vital connections based on family, based on kin, based on their common membership in community churches, their organization of community schools. People came together for harvest festivals, for plowing, for work, for quilting.*
   — John Mack Faragher, historian

   Think about the important connections and support systems in your life. What is your community's equivalent of the barn raising or the quilting circles of Midwest history? When do people in your community come together? If a newcomer asked you to point out some of the most important support systems in your community, what would you direct that person's attention to?

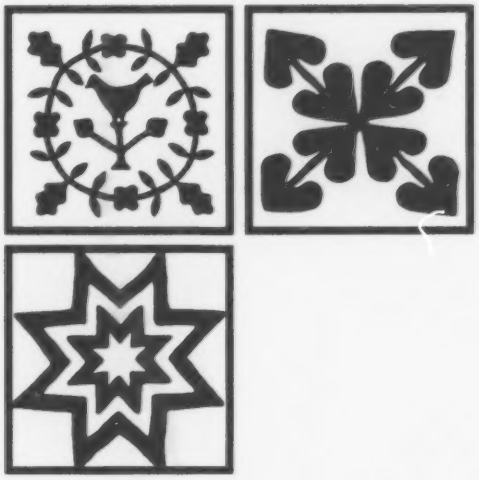
What some Americans are saying ...

To me what's important is where we make connections. Where do our pasts tie in? We all come from agrarian backgrounds at some point in our past that are very rich with folklore, history, oral history, and values.
— *Vicente Martinez, photographer/community organizer*

If I see that you're hurting, that there's something wrong with you and I can help you out, why do I have to care about what color of skin you have, what color of eyes you have, or where you come from. In New Mexico we say, "mi casa es tu casa." My house is your house. — *Estevan Arellano, poet*

Some cultural traditions, like Sephardic Judaism, understand difference as a condition of life, not a hostile act. Is it possible for us to imagine a fence as a condition of life, not an uncrossable barrier?
— *Ammiel Alcalay, writer/translator*

Saint Augustine said that a community was a group of people who were bound together by the object of their love. And the problem, in part, is that we have not put our hands on what it is that we love. I think because the world's economic system is in such upheaval, people have become insular, focused on the most easily identifiable things that they love — which is usually their families. So they can't think of anything larger than that individual unit to which they are willing to make a commitment.
— *Rosemary Bray, writer*



3 Visions of America: What Ties Us Together?

What does it mean to be part of the United States of America? Some people respond proudly. "Our country is a great place," they say. "We are a city upon a hill, an example for the rest of the world. Ours is a society based on the idea that all people are equal in this land of opportunity."

But when others think about our nation's past and future, they look at the people who have been left out of America's promises, and how their exclusion continues to affect us. Many things can influence the way we view being American: whether we are white or people of color, whether we are rich or poor or middle class, whether we are straight or gay, whether we are men or women, whether we graduated from high school or not, to name just a few. How can we look at the ways in which America has drawn its boundaries? Who's "in"? Who's "out"?

Today, plenty of people are concerned that the union is threatened by our differences. Others worry that too much emphasis on melding will threaten our diversity. There are many opinions about where we are, where we have been, and where we should go as a country. Talk fills the airwaves, the coffeeshops, the laundromats, the halls of Congress, and the media. In all of this conversation, it seems as though people are struggling to find one clear, simple answer. But in a democratic society, the only real answers are those we create together.

We, the people, make up the union of the United States of America. Conversations about what matters to us will help us understand our respective experiences of America, past and present, and our hopes for the future. Through telling our own stories and sharing our ideas and life experiences, we may find our common ground. Throughout our history, when have our experiences been the same? When have they been different? When have we helped each other? When have we hindered each other? Because we have often lived separately, or because we have had little chance to learn about our history, we may have forgotten — or never before discovered — how much we have in common.

These conversations may not be easy. They may touch on different ideas about power and interest, about privilege and need, and about how we value each other. Talking together will be hard work, but it begins some of the most important work we can do.

Discussion Starters

There are more questions here than you will have time to address. Choose a few that you think will be most interesting to your group. Also take a look at the viewpoints and questions on the next two pages.

What kind of place is your America?

1. How would you convey your own vision of America to others? Is there a cause, historical event, or some other critical experience that has shaped your connection to our country? Perhaps it was a war or social movement, or living through a time like the Great Depression.

2. *We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.*

   These lines come from the Declaration of Independence, signed on July 4, 1776. The ideas recited in this passage have inspired and linked generations of Americans. Is there an idea, set of ideas, or a document such as the Constitution of the United States of America, the Bill of Rights, or the Declaration of Independence that shapes your connection to America?

3. Do you recollect a time when you first became aware of yourself as an "American," as part of a larger country? When are the times you feel most "American"? If you don't, what do you identify with?

4. Are you one of the millions whose connection to the country is shaped by movement — by immigration or by moving from place to place? Or are you one of the settled ones with long roots in a particular place? How has this influenced your sense of belonging, both in your community and this country as a whole?

5. What meaning and promise does the "American Dream" hold for you?

6. Was there a time when you or your family lived better? Or has your fortune improved over the generations? What changed to affect your family's well-being? How do those changes relate to your ideas about the American dream?

What connects us?

1. Some people have been willing to give up what is most important to them, even their lives, for the country or for their dreams of what the country could be. Are there things you would be willing to sacrifice or even die for? Why?

2. We might identify common interests by remembering the times we feel most connected to each other. When and where do you feel part of the nation? during particular events? when you vote in an election? when you volunteer to help others? in the wake of a disaster? through favorite or special TV shows? at other times?

3. Keeping in mind what you've learned today and in the previous sessions, what might be some points of agreement, or common interests and values that people in this country could unite around?

4. America has been described as a melting pot. Others have likened the U.S.A. to a mosaic. Still others say our country is like a jazz ensemble. If asked to fill in the blank, how would you complete this statement?: America is like _____. Would you choose one of the descriptions listed here? Would you invent your own?

5. In what ways does the strength of your attachment to the country affect your attachment to your particular community (and vice versa)?

Views on Being an American Today

The viewpoints below are written in the voice of people responding to this question: "What does it mean to be American in an era as diverse as ours?" Some of these outlooks may sound strange to you, some may sound familiar. What do you hear each person saying? Can you understand why the people who are speaking might hold the views that they do? If not, why not?

Viewpoint 1

Our country has always been a melting pot — a nation made up of people from different backgrounds who give up some of their difference to *become* American. They do everything they can to fit in. We have always been a nation of immigrants. What makes the United States great is that people come here in search of equality, freedom, opportunity, and individual rights. Americans are not supposed to care about people's different physical traits or backgrounds. Really, we shouldn't pay too much attention to particular groups and what they want. I think we should forget about things like multicultural history. Instead, we should promote and learn about the traditional values that made America what it is today.

Viewpoint 2

America's high ideals about freedom and equality have not been applied equally to everybody. We have to pay attention to all of our different experiences so that we can come to terms with the fact that this nation has a history of not welcoming some people, and of being brutal to some groups. We all know that slavery was cruel and heartless, and it is only one example of how people have been and still are treated unfairly. Some people paid a higher price for admission, not because of anything they ever did, only because of who they were and where they came from. We must talk about how some of us were treated badly, and are being treated badly. We still need to acknowledge our history so that we can make things right.

Viewpoint 3

Diversity is a politically correct word; it gives special status to people of different races, to women, to people with disabilities, and to homosexuals. That's not right. I worry that, in the name of diversity, people are lowering their standards. America is about people working hard enough to succeed. Human beings should be judged based on how they perform, on merit. I should be able to decide who to spend time with, and who to hire or fire. And I'll base my choices on what people are inside — on their values, their character, that kind of thing — not on what they are on the outside or on the claims they make.

Viewpoint 4

I know all about the dominant, white "American" culture because that's how I've survived, not because it has been good to me. People who aren't part of that culture often need to explain themselves over and over again. The dominant culture sets the rules on all sorts of things. For example, I have to go out of my way to find a hairstylist who knows how to cut my hair. Another example: in school, I studied only Western traditions and history. Of course, everybody learns George Washington's name. How many people learn Sojourner Truth's or Cesar Chavez's? These kinds of things tell me a lot about who is highly regarded in America and who is not.

Viewpoint 5

The ideal America is one of shared values and commitment that can build on cultural differences. Coming together as a country is a long-term healing process, and it requires learning about all the cultures that make up our nation. I want my kids to learn about different cultures as part of the American experience. For that to happen, we will have to discuss and compare our experiences honestly. Of course we'll disagree on some things, but we'll probably find out we're committed to a core set of values that define the United States of America — freedom, equality, and democracy. And we must incorporate our new accounts into the larger story of our nation, instead of treating them as exotic alternative histories.

Viewpoint 6

When will we own up to the fact that racial and ethnic differences often are tied to economic differences? I fear that tensions will grow between groups because the pie is not as big as it once was, and some groups take bigger slices than others. If the gap between the rich and the poor gets wider, and if economic differences continue to overlap with racial differences, I don't see how we'll end up with anything other than a two-tiered society. Ask yourself, how do people react if poor people of color want to move into a suburban town? What does your answer tell you?

Viewpoint 7

There is no way that all of these different groups are going to get along. We have too much diversity. There is no example in history for the kind of multiethnic society America is trying to pull off. People should stay within their own groups. Your own people will care about you, and they will teach you about what your values should be. Forget about trying to make everybody get along together. The best we can hope for is that people will leave each other alone.

Looking at the viewpoints

1. You might take turns reading the viewpoints aloud. Which view or views sound right to you? Why?

2. Take a viewpoint that you don't agree with and try to argue its perspective as though you believe it.

3. Are there any perspectives that are left out? What would you add to this line-up?

Activities

1. With the whole group, view Section 3 of the video *Toward a More Perfect Union.*

2. Take a moment to read each of the quotations under the heading "What some Americans are saying." How do these quotes relate to the discussion today? Which statement do you find most interesting? Why?

3. Bring in an object or photograph from any point in your life that helps describe your ideas and experiences about being American. Please be prepared to describe this to others in your group.

4. (a) Get discussion going by talking about photographs, pictures, and objects that have traditionally been used to represent America. These might include a New England town square, the Lincoln Memorial, the Declaration of Independence, Statue of Liberty, cars, Cowboys & Indians, a log cabin, a baseball, a dollar bill, images from a well-known movie, etc. Ask each other what these pictures mean to you. Do these images give a full picture of America? a fair picture?

   (b) Next, make a list of the modern images that you would choose to represent America today. For example, one group listed pictures of Martin Luther King, Jr., Madonna, Marilyn Monroe, Rodney King, freeways, McDonald's, and Michael Jordan. What would you put on your list, and why?

   (c) Compare the traditional and the modern images. How do the images indicate ways that America has changed?

5. Prompt a discussion about shared values by having each participant make a list of the most important values they believe they share with other Americans. Each participant in turn cites a value from the list and all ideas are discussed. Questions might include: "How many participants have listed the

same values? Why? Is there general agreement in the group about the American values most participants share? What do these values mean to you? Which values are in dispute?"

6. Have each participant draw a simple map or chart starting with his or her home, and branching out to the neighborhood, town, region, country, and the world. The map should show his or her own connections — personal, familial, political, economic — to the larger communities he or she inhabits. Share these maps and discuss. How do the maps differ from what you expected? How do these connections affect the ways we live with one another?

What some Americans are saying ...

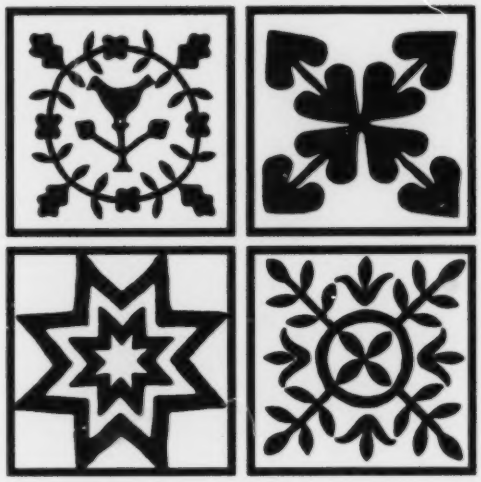
Precisely because we are not a people held together by blood, no one knows who an American is except by what they believe. It's important that we do know our history, because our history is the source of our Americanness. — *Gordon Wood, historian*

When people wrote "All men are created equal," they really meant men. But they didn't mean any other men except white men who owned land. That's what they meant. But because the ideas are powerful, they couldn't get away with holding to that. It's not possible when you have an idea that's as powerful and as revolutionary as a country founded on the idea that just because you're in the world, just because you're here, you have a right to certain things that are common to all humanity. That's really what we say in those documents. We begin the Constitution with, "We, the People"... even though they didn't mean me! They had no idea I'd ever make a claim on that. And they'd have been horrified if they'd known that any of us would. But you can't let that powerful an idea out into the world without consequences.
— *Rosemary Bray, writer*

The American Dream has no meaning for me. What it was founded on, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, in many ways I feel are used as billy clubs against minorities and cultural minorities, whether they be gay, or different in any way from the norm in this country. I, for example, don't think I'd like to go to California because of what I look like. I could be pulled over and carded, and I would have to prove my ancestry. And look how long my family has been in northern New Mexico. Ten to twelve generations!
— *Vicente Martinez, photographer/community organizer*

When traveling out of the country, someone once asked me where I was from. I answered "America," and was met with a confused reply. "Yes, but where in America?," he asked. "Are you from Canada? Central America? The United States? South America? Where?" Really, he saw my presumption that America means the United States of America as quite arrogant.
— *Georganna D. Dickson, grandmother*

There's a wonderful story about a pioneer boy by the name of Sanford Cox who grew up in central Illinois just before the Civil War. When he would play in the grasslands he'd find arrowheads and trade beads — the flotsam and jetsam of a former culture. And he tells of his sister running into the kitchen and telling his mother, "Ma, ain't it grand; the grass and weeds here is so rich it grows beads!" Well, this idea, that such things came from nature, that there was no human history that preceded, was all part of the second or third generation effort to erase the prior inhabitants, to make it seem as if this were a settlement planted in the virgin wilderness.
— *John Mack Faragher, historian*



4 Making a Difference: What can we do to build a stronger community in an age of diversity?

I have a feeling that we're all waiting for something to happen, for some divine intervention that will sit us all down at one table; each race, each class, each faction, and somehow we'll legislate, negotiate, mediate, and make everything all right. There's this assumption that we're missing some essential ingredient, but in fact all the ingredients are here. It's as if we are in a kitchen and have all the components to make the bread laid out, and we're looking from bowl to bowl unable to make that leap of imagination to mix this with that and put it in the oven and eat it. We're waiting for other people to do it, and that's totally antithetical to our can-do, will-do, know-how, make-shift, made-up country.

— Allan Gurganus, writer

We have talked and thought about how we describe ourselves, about how we come together or stand apart, and what it means to be an American. What can we do with the information and insight we've gained over the course of these conversations? How will we make that leap of imagination that Allan Gurganus talks about and work together to forge a common life that sustains all of us?

Discussion Starters

There are more questions here than you will have time to address. Choose a few that you think will be most interesting to your group.

Working on the issues that face us

1. What have you heard and learned during these discussions that has surprised you? What will have the largest impact on your attitudes? on your actions in the community?
2. What events in our local history have had an impact on how people work together, or avoid working together?
3. If there are tensions in our community that relate to difference, what efforts are currently underway to address these tensions? How can we build on those efforts? How can we expand them?

Moving to next steps

What next steps can we take to make a difference? Of the various ideas listed in this session, which seem the most promising? What groups and individuals in this community or outside might support us as we act on these ideas?

1. *What can I do as an individual?*
   - Take leadership. You don't have to be an elected official, or a well-known civic leader, to be effective. Approach top community leaders and encourage them to foster public dialogue. At the same time, begin dialogues in your own neighborhood as a way to reach out beyond the group you belong to. Your initial work to bring people together will give you the experience and credentials for a larger role in the community.
   - Talk about community issues whenever you can. Speak up when people take positions that work against intercultural understanding and communication.
   - Support local businesses that are run by people who are from diverse backgrounds.
   - Read about different cultures and traditions. Start with your own and branch out from there.
   - Learn about your local history and use what you've learned to inform your conversations. Public libraries, historical sites and societies, and history museums are all good resources. Chapters from books, articles, oral histories, and visits to museum exhibits can be used to jumpstart conversations. (See the Resource section at back for places to turn for help.)
   - Ask yourself what you can do to help bring your skills to the people in your community. Can you help more people to recognize and take advantage of opportunities?
   - Volunteer to teach new immigrants how to speak or read English.
   - Tutor people who want to learn to read, or who want to learn a language you know.
   - Be an informed voter.
   - Find out about your representatives in government. Are the people in your community well represented?
   - As elections near, volunteer to help register people to vote, or work to get out the vote.
   - Greet people who are different from you in a friendly way.
   - Ask yourself some basic questions. Do you know and associate with people from different backgrounds? Why or why not?

2. *What can we do in our homes and neighborhoods?*
   - Our community's children will grow up in a diverse world. How can we prepare them to work with (in the workplace and in the community) people from different backgrounds? Here are some ideas:

     (a) Encourage local merchants to carry toys and books for children that reflect and respect differences among people.

(b) Avoid stereotyping; teach children to be concerned with the content of a person's character.

(c) When groups mark special occasions or celebrate holidays, find out what the celebration is about. What do Yom Kippur, Kwanzaa, Easter, and Ramadan mean to the people who observe them? Talk with your children about the meanings of holidays.

- Welcome new neighbors, and seek out opportunities to meet newcomers in the community. Reach out especially if they are people from a different background than yours.
- Before you barbecue, ask yourself what national holidays mean — July 4th, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, Memorial Day, Labor Day, Thanksgiving, and more. What do these holidays commemorate? In an age as diverse as ours, are these days important for something besides leisure time? Ask others what they think.
- Have an open block party in your neighborhood. Ask guests to bring a favorite traditional dish from their family's heritages.
- Start a neighborhood "community service project" that includes young people from all backgrounds.

3. *What can we do in our community to create a common life?*

- Make study circles an ongoing part of the community, on all sorts of issues. Include community groups of all kinds as study circle sponsors, so that all community members will know that they are welcome to take part. Media participation can also promote widespread involvement: in some places, radio and TV stations run public service announcements to encourage participation in the study circles, and newspapers print supportive editorials.
- Convene community-wide cultural development planning. This could be an effective way to channel the energy generated by a successful round of community conversations about cultural identity and diversity. This process could draw out a range of community members' ideas about how they'd like to see cultural life change.
- Encourage the newspaper to write a series of stories that documents the history of the community. Who has settled in the community, and why? How have groups related to each other? Some newspapers have done extensive series on current-day relations between racial and ethnic groups.
- Start a community arts project. Use the arts and media as ways for people to express themselves and their own cultural identities. Community arts projects can take many forms: photo-text exhibits; video and audio "speak outs"; murals and other pieces of public art. In some communities, short plays have been "discussion starters" for community conversations.
- If there are ongoing tensions between groups in the community, leaders from these groups can form an alliance to discuss ways of working together. One example of this is in New York, where African-American and Korean-American leaders formed "The Black/Korean Mediation Project."
- Teach young people about diversity by helping them learn about the art that comes out of different traditions. For example, The Baltimore Learning Network, run by community volunteers, coordinates projects that link the schools to the city's cultural institutions.
- Sponsor cultural outings for multicultural groups of students, where the groups can visit sites that help them learn about each other's backgrounds.

- Sponsor projects where community members from all backgrounds will have opportunities to work together and break down patterns of segregation. For example, organize park clean-ups in areas that are usually segregated.
- Hold a film festival that highlights diversity issues. One example of this took place in Glen Ridge, NJ, as a result of a study circle program on race relations.
- Encourage and support civic leaders who are out front on the issues of diversity, who understand the importance of addressing these issues honestly and with everyone's involvement.
- Create a community leadership program that includes people from all groups in the community, and that offers skills training in cross-cultural dialogue, mediation, and cross-cultural problem solving.
- Congregations from different faiths and backgrounds can hold joint services, or work together on community problems.

Activities

1. With the whole group, view Section 4 of the video *Toward a More Perfect Union.*

2. (a) Spend some time as a group looking at the issues listed below. They represent some public concerns where diversity issues can surface in communities. Are any public matters that involve diversity issues missing from the list? Add your own. Then rank the top five issues for your community.

   Affirmative action
   Bilingual education
   Cases of bias or prejudice
   Discrimination in housing
   English-only laws
   Gangs
   Hate crimes
   How museums represent our history and cultures
   How schools represent our history and cultures
   Immigration
   Interfaith marriages
   Interracial marriages
   Multiculturalism
   Policies about Native lands
   Prayer in public schools
   Public funding and displaying of art
   Same-sex marriages
   The glass ceiling
   Unequal pay scales
   Welfare

   (b) Take one of these issues, and describe the typical public debate about it. In what ways does our diversity have an impact on that issue? Have inequalities, or the tensions and mistrust among us, hindered us in moving ahead on this issue? What voices aren't heard in the debate? What have we learned in our conversations so far that would help our community talk about the issue in more constructive ways and begin to deal with it differently?

3. (a) Have we had a "social contract" in this community? That is, has there been an unwritten code about what our rights and responsibilities are as members of this place? If we were to create our own "social contract" right now, what would we include?

Here is one proposed set of principles, excerpted from a speech by Henry Cisneros, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development:

(1) *that we respect difference, because we honor the human spirit and we recognize that we are all in these communities together and none of us is going anywhere. We are going to have to live together. Let's find ways to respect each other.*

(2) *that we accept responsibility, not just demand things of the government, of our institutions or of each other, but that we accept individual responsibility.*

(3) *that we agree that there are social responsibilities, duties and obligations. If our society is to address social issues, then they will be addressed at the local level or not at all. Together we will set goals for our human capital that are as concrete as those for our streets, or parks, or library expansion. We can set goals for reducing poverty or for addressing social service expectations over a ten to fifteen year period.*

(4) *that we will teach. We will teach our children, and we will teach each other. We will teach each other about our culture, we will teach each other about the things that bind us together.*

(5) *that we will celebrate our humanity, our capacity for understanding, for affection, our need for human contact. We will slow down the relentless dehumanizing assault, the disrespectful language, the violent acts, the pace of a society that moves so hard and fast that it detracts from our ability to think as human beings and relate to each other.*

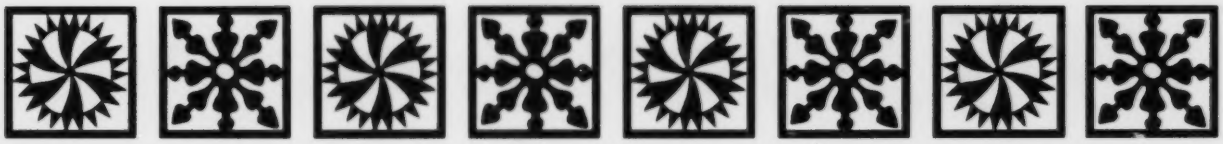
(6) *that we must pledge to set up places, forums, communications, conversations, systems to allow all of these things to occur, places where we can listen, places where we can teach. It is not good enough to leave this to chance. It is not good enough to hope that somehow in the random meetings of elites, the business elite, and minority elite gathering together at the museum cocktail party, that somehow we'll make contact that somehow passes for the requisite civic dialogue. We will need new structures in the society, new places, new forums, suspensions of skepticism and disbelief to allow these processes to play themselves out.*

(7) *and that we will project an ethic of inclusiveness, an ethic of civility.*

(b) Are these principles proposed by Secretary Cisneros a good place to start? Why or why not? Are there other principles that you would propose?

This phrase from the Constitution is so magical
— "toward a more perfect union."
I mean, it's so beautiful!
Not a perfect union, that's not the promise.
But toward,
perpetually,
in our national lives
and in our personal lives,
toward this possibility of perfection.

— Allan Gurganus



Extra Readings

The following readings look at America from many perspectives. These materials are reprinted to help you prepare your discussion materials. They do not necessarily represent the views of the writers of this guide.

Your group may want to make these readings optional, or you may choose to integrate these readings more formally into your discussions. Whatever you decide, be sure to let participants know these supplemental readings are available.

In This Section

1. "American Stories," an essay written for this guide by Rosemary Bray.
2. "Valuing the Difference: Diversity as an Asset," selections from a speech given by Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Henry Cisneros, to the National Civic League meeting in November, 1992.
3. "America's Immigration Story: Still the Melting Pot," an article by Everett Carll Ladd for the *Christian Science Monitor,* August 4, 1995.
4. "Sample Citizenship Questions," a list of 100 questions that are examples of questions that might appear on the official test for U.S. citizenship. The answers are listed, too. These items come from the U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).
5. *The Declaration of Independence,* July 4, 1776.
6. Excerpts from the *Constitution of the United States of America:* the Preamble and selected Amendments.
7. This set of readings represents some important American statements about equality.
   - * "The Gettysburg Address," Abraham Lincoln, November 19, 1863.
   - * "Address before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs," Robert Yellowtail, September 9, 1919.
   - * "I Have a Dream," Martin Luther King, Jr., August 20, 1963.
   - * Plan de Delano, Proclamation Issued by La Causa when the National Farm Workers' Association voted to join the Filipino grape pickers' strike, 1965.
   - "Ain't I a Woman," Sojourner Truth, speech given at the Women's Rights Convention, 1852.

(* Items marked with an asterisk (*) were selected from the "National Conversation Kit," by the National Endowment for the Humanities.)

American Stories

by Rosemary L. Bray

In some circles, talk is cheap. But in the next few years, it may become our country's most valuable asset. Not just any kind of talk, of course, but genuine civic discourse: the talk of engaged citizens who care about the country and the community they live in, people who don't always understand their fellow Americans, but would like to. People like me, and like you.

There are so many American stories; this discussion guide has captured a few of them. Yet so many of us know only one or two versions. So many more of us think that our stories are mutually exclusive: The story of native American people whose lands were wrested from them versus the story of white settlers who moved across the great plains; the story of African-Americans cruelly separated from their native homes versus the story of Southern planters who used slave labor to build their wealth; the story of immigrants who fled their homelands for the sake of a distant promise versus those Americans whose families seemed always to be here. And there are the stories of those whose American history is nothing like the stories above, stories of people who feel torn by what often seems like interests not their own.

In the face of these divergent stories and complex identities, our ability to talk to each other and to listen to each other becomes crucial. With all the other stresses of a postindustrial world, many Americans believe the only choices are to paper over what seems dissonant about ourselves and our nation, or to see those differences — and be destroyed. But more and more of us view this choice as a false one. There is another option open to all of us: to know ourselves more clearly, even if what we see doesn't always make sense; to acknowledge what is painful among us, as a first step toward mutual reconciliation; to rejoice in the knowledge that our American dreams, though hardly achieved, are sometimes closer to fruition than we know. For parallel to the stories of injustice and persecution that are a real part of American history, are the stories of justice and hope that continue to fuel a common love for and commitment to the American experiment.

Looking at ourselves, our cultures, our histories as Americans can be frightening, especially when we join with people of vastly different experiences, people who are watching and listening to us, possibly even judging us. Those of us who make the choice to join conversations like these, who choose to share our stories of America and to be truthful about the experiences of our lives, must believe that others are taking that same risk with us — the risk of being our real selves. This is so very difficult to do. We fear being misunderstood or disliked for what we say. We fear being accused of hatred or anger, when what we really feel is anxious, or searching, or just confused. Or perhaps we really feel just as angry or as hateful as we sound — but we don't want to be this way. All these are risks inherent in talking and listening to one another. But once we begin to truly listen to one another, we gain the courage to speak honestly, knowing we will be fully heard.

Our nation does face real and serious challenges — economic, political and social challenges that are often rooted in the very histories that some of us would like to dismiss. The anxiety so many of us feel now is not in our imagination, and much of what we feel cannot simply be brushed aside. But we who have joined in this project believe that our challenges as Americans are best faced directly, and most effectively faced together, sometimes in spite of our pasts, sometimes because of our pasts, but always, with respect for our pasts.

Can talking and listening alone solve the problems we face: the economic dislocation so many of us experience now; the racial and ethnic tensions that continue to plague us; the nagging fears about the world and the future our children will inherit? No, of course not. But talking and listening to one another about who we are, telling and hearing these many American stories — these are efforts that help us to focus on what really matters to us. They help us to find the common ground among us, those needs and dreams we all share. Talking and listening can fuel our belief in a common American life and energize us for the work that lies ahead. When the stakes are as high as this — the future of the country we call home — talk can never be considered cheap. We who have worked on this project believe that the real enemy of American life is a common silence among us about who we are. Our films, this discussion guide — these are our small contributions to the effort to break that silence. Your honesty about your life and experience, your willingness to join in common conversation and to hear what you may never have heard before — these are your contributions. The renewal of America that so many of us long for begins the moment we begin.

Rosemary L. Bray, one of the participants in the film "Talk to Me: Americans in Conversation," is a writer and cultural critic in Montclair, NJ. Her political memoir, "Unafraid of the Dark," will be published in 1997 by Random House.

Social Contract for the Year 2000: Diversity as an Asset

by Henry G. Cisneros

The following was excerpted from a keynote speech to the National Civic League's 98th National Conference on Diversity, on November 13, 1992, in Los Angeles, CA.

It is a treat to be in Los Angeles ... I have great respect for this community. I continue to see it as the leading edge of pioneering opportunities — as well, to be sure, of problems that confront the entire country. This is a special place. In no way is it more special than as an example of diversity that will soon sweep across America.

California grew by some 25 percent in the 1980s. It grew from 23 million people to almost 30 million people, but the real story of that growth is the significance of the 25 percent increase in what was already the largest state in America by far. Thirty million people live here, compared to the second largest state in America, New York, which has something less than 17 million people.

The real story of that growth of 25 percent was the growth of different groups within the California population. Keep in mind the number 25 percent overall growth in the 1980s. But the Hispanic population in California grew by 69 percent in the 1980s. The African-American population grew by about the average, a little less than 25 percent. The Asian-American population grew by 127 percent during that period. The white population of California grew by 13.8 percent. Again, phenomenal rates of growth, and that Asian-American growth of 127 percent is not the traditional Chinese-American and Japanese-American populations, but Filipino, and Korean, and Asian-Indian, and Hmong, and Cambodian, and Pakistani, Sri Lankan, and Laotian.

As a result of these rates of growth, during this decade California's population will become majority Hispanic-, Asian-, and African-American. Indeed, the Rand Corporation concludes that in the year 2000, just eight years from now, 92 percent of the people of California will live in a county that is at least 35 percent Hispanic-, Asian- and African-American. Ninety-two percent of the people of California will live in a county that is at least 35 percent minority.

One looks at numbers for key cities in California, and the numbers are equally striking. San Jose, for example, in Northern California, had an overall growth rate of 24.3 percent. The white population grew by only 4.4 percent which tips you off quickly that the growth had to come from other population groups. Indeed, the Hispanic population grew by 48 percent. The African-American population grew by 27 percent and the Asian-American population in San Jose by 187 percent.

One of the most interesting things about this process unfolding in California is the number of communities that are quickly becoming majority Hispanic-, Asian-, and African-American. There are 19 communities over 100,000 population where the population is better that 50 percent Hispanic-, Asian-, and African-American ...

The reality of this kind of demographic change, accompanied by the realities of economic change and growth in poverty, create a devastating combination. During 1989 and 1990, the percentage of persons living below the poverty line increased for every ethnic group — for whites, for blacks, for Hispanics — for everyone except for Asian-Americans. But for every group, median household income declined. All of this created scenarios in many parts of California, as well as other parts of the nation, where tensions have intensified, the most fearsome of which are those associated with levels of crime and the disturbing increase in bias crimes. Such events are vicious, with primal feelings turned loose, and groups blaming

each other for economic troubles. All of this creates a dangerous, difficult environment that the country as a whole must face.

The decisive questions in America's civic and democratic future are those concerning whether it will be truly possible to incorporate ideas of multicultural inclusiveness into our institutions and our decision-making structures. Among the most critical of these questions, the most controversial and the most difficult are these: What will it mean to be an American in the 21st Century? Who indeed are the Americans? What are the core beliefs and social bonds to which one must adhere in order to be American? What are the essential elements of a social accord that would allow people who are characterized by profound differences to function as a society and to prosper and share leadership in a global setting?

Any society needs to achieve essential conditions of accord, to agree to a minimal social contract so that its members can work cooperatively, engage in a positive dialogue, and decide national directions. A social contract has always existed in American society, but historically has incorporated decidedly different elements than we would accept today. In the 1700s, the social contract allowed slavery, the explicit acknowledgment that certain portions of the population were not extended human rights. In the 1800s, it did not include women among those who could vote. In the early 1900s, it still allowed children to be exploited in the work force and workers to be at the mercy of monopoly powers.

We have come an immense distance. Look at some of the greatest changes that have been created by the political movements of this century: the labor movement, the New Deal, the civil rights movement, and the women's movement. Augmented by changes in technology, medicine, communications, and economics, the social contract at the end of this century is a profoundly different one from that which existed in the 1900s. This social contract will continue to change, but the functioning of a society requires more than a social contract made explicit in laws and court rulings.

There are also the unwritten laws, the unspoken differences that determine who is accorded the status to lead and who decides the distribution of the nation's benefits. For the better part of American history, one could predict the race, gender and educational background of America's leadership group. Visible manifestations helped sort out who would decide and who would lead. Skin color, ethnic origin, country of birth, gender, accent, and last name were the common bonds, the glue of prestige and power that held the leadership structure and the country together. As those external characteristics become a less-accepted means of deciding, of leading us to consensus, I wonder what will take their place. As the population of cities and states becomes so diverse that in many places, such as California, there will be no majority group or culture, the pursuit of common purpose becomes a heightened priority.

As we extend respect to diverse cultural heritages in school curricula and in the arts, the question of whether there is a minimum core of ideas that constitute the American idea begs for an answer. As we hear languages from areas of the world which have not been part of the cultural superstructure, we must find ways to engage in a new civic discourse. As fewer of our fellow citizens look like "real Americans," we will have to adapt our images and learn to feel less threatened by the different faces, the different voices. Can it be that we could agree to a set of core values which would be called "the essential American values of the 21st century?" If so, what are they? Could it be that, as a society, we could master a new dialogue, a new civics by which we speak to and collaborate with each other in effective and respectful ways?

I was recently reminded of the importance of achieving a 21st century social compact, encompassing the core values that can bind our people to common

causes and allow us to maintain a leadership role in the world. Arturo Madrid, President of the Tomás Rivera Center, an Hispanic research organization, recently recounted a conversation he had with officials in Israel during a study visit there. He had asked, on several occasions during his visits, about relations with Arab and Palestinian minorities. He was told by one official as an explanation for the obvious difficulties that there was no record in human history of multi-racial, multi-ethnic nations being able to prosper or even survive. Historical antecedents may be lacking, but, for the United States, the question of global precedents is essentially moot. We are a multicultural, multi-racial society, and we will continuously become more clearly so. The real question is whether we can, once again, create a uniquely American future. The challenge is to anticipate the changes and forge a social contract that is imaginative, and inclusive, and that rewrites the rules of human history in an American way once again.

As we find our way toward a 21st century social contract, it seems to me that it would be useful to retrace the steps of those who have gone before, to retell the human story, to understand human nature, or humanity and identity, as individual human beings. We must restudy the works of thinkers, theologians, philosophers, and political theorists of all cultures and ages — those who have thought about the themes that transcend our individuality to our collective presence, our responsibilities, our civic duties — to review the application of some of those human and civic ideas and apply them to the American reality, to America in the 21st century.

First, what is important to know about our humanity in order to start toward a discussion of living together? Well, I think it's possible to say a number of things that we know about ourselves as human beings. As human beings, we fight for life itself, believe in life. And yet, on the same newscast, we watch starving children in Somalia hanging on for morsels, struggling for one last drink, one last bit of sustenance to sustain life, fighting with their last energy for life itself. How at odds with the cold-eyed squeeze of the trigger of the drive-by shooter who blasts away a life, tears through muscle, and bone, and heart, and breath, and then the sound of car tires squealing into the night! Over what? Over colors, or drugs, or race, or imaginary turf, who knows? But when we are healthy, when we are sane, we honor life as human beings.

As human beings, we believe in human potential, in the soaring capability of the human spirit, the spirit that inspires the brain, the hands, the voice, the eyes, the body to great attainments. Michelangelo and Michael Jordan. Einstein and Walt Disney. Dante and Barbara Streisand. Akio Morita and Mother Theresa. We believe in the human spirit.

As human beings, we love our children. As human beings, we also know that we need other people. The elderly wait in nursing homes and, when they are asked what they miss, they say what they miss most is the human touch. No one hugs them, no one holds them. People who are rejected and lonely are driven to pathologies that result in violence because it is in the nature of the human being, of the human spirit, to need other people and to need human contact.

We know also that, as human beings, we seek respect, we seek approval, we seek a measure of fulfillment. Maslow's hierarchy of needs tells us that at the highest level is a kind of fulfillment that comes from finding respect and approval from other human beings. And, as human beings, we seek peace. Benito Juárez said, "El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz." "Respect for other people's rights is the basis of peace."

So any discussion, any meaningful sense of diversity, must begin with the basics. That is, what do we know about our human natures from which we can begin a sense of building a society respectful of individual human beings? But we don't live as individuals. We live in a society, and thinkers across time have forged

ideas of what it means to respect people living together. How do you build a civic culture, a civil order?

One of the most important thinkers of our day, a man who has not only written and imagined, but practiced politics, is Vaclav Havel. He wrote on this question. "I am in favor of a political system based on the citizen and recognizing all his or her fundamental civil and human rights in their universal validity and equally applied. No member of a single race, a single nation, a single sex or a single religion may be endowed with basic rights that are any different from anyone else's. In other words, I am in favor of what is called a civic society. I support the civic principle," he said, "because it represents the best way for individuals to realize themselves — to fulfill their identity in all of the circles of their home — to enjoy everything that belongs to their natural world, not just some aspects of it. To establish a state on any other principle than the civic principle, on the principle of ideology, or nationality, or religion for instance, means making one aspect of our home superior to all the others and thus reduces us as people, reduces our natural world, and that hardly ever leads to anything good." Most wars and revolutions, for example, came about precisely because of this one dimensional concept of the state. Vaclav Havel recognizes our place as citizens in a society where we are recognized for our individual capabilities and where our human rights are applied equally.

The third question, in addition to our individuality and our place in a society, is how these ancient ideas might work in America. To seek some sense of whether or not there is a set of core American values, I looked at some research done by Daniel Yankelovich, who surveyed Americans as to what they regard as enduring American values, not the things that come and pass with time, but the things that we would call the essence of what it means to live as an American in America. These are the things he cited that are at the core: a belief in fairness, and a sense of placing a high value on people getting what they deserve as the consequence of individual actions and efforts; a belief in self-improvement, in the efficacy of individual effort; the conviction that people should constantly strive to better their lot through education and hard work; a belief in democracy, that the judgment of the majority should form the basis of governance; a belief in caring beyond the self, placing a high value on concern for others such as family or ethnic group, neighborliness, caring for community. Americans believe in equality of opportunity — the practical expression of freedom and individualism in the marketplace that helps resolve the tensions between the values of freedom and equality. At the core of American values are those associated with moral responsibility for the consequences of one's own actions — paying one's dues, accepting obligations as well as rights. And Americans believe as well in a concept of American exceptionalism, a belief in the special status and mission of America in relation to other countries. How does all of this — our individuality, our civic responsibility, and how these things relate to American core values or enduring values — relate to this moment?

... Unlike previous eras, when we as a society put our faith in the central government and legislation from Washington, and in sanctions, today's action point is local — not only services, but also creating new forms of governance, of community building and social interaction. It is instructive that the President-elect is a governor who cited ideas tried in his state of two million people as examples for what could be done at the national level. If our society is to address social issues, then they will be addressed at the local level or, I would argue, not at all. It is at the local level that these issues will clash, will spark the full intensity at which they must be addressed.

Each of us, and each of us in our communities, must ask ourselves: What do we really believe about race? What do our communities believe about race? Do we harbor some subconscious prejudice yet? All of us — whites and sometimes people of color —

sometimes believe that this just will not work, that America has seen her best days and that everything about these demographic trends is frightening, alarming, dangerous. What do we really believe about these demographic changes, these different voices, these different faces?

The truth is we are going to have to do some things differently. In an age of diversity, we will have to govern differently. We will have to build communities differently. It means using the institutions of government, the structures and facilities of government, to bring people together. Public facilities, senior citizens' centers, schools, libraries, cable television stations, voter registration efforts, all of them must be redesigned to give people a place to gather, to speak, to have their voices heard, to come together. Governmental accountability must include an assessment of whether or not it is being sufficiently inclusive, not just efficient, but inclusive. Among our most important innovations must be those associated with creating mediating structures, mediating institutions to resolve conflict, new hybrids of institutions where people can come to resolve differences, to hear each other, to listen, to share ideas.

There must also be new ways of delivering traditional services. We will not be able to police in the same ways. We will not be able to offer social services in the same way, but must provide them in ways that are reachable in practical common sense terms by people. Our libraries must take on new responsibilities. California's state library system some years ago did an analysis of the role of the public libraries in California. It was an excellent piece of work, in which they set forth twelve or so new responsibilities for the public libraries. They were responding to realities of demographics, and considered everything from such pedestrian things as large type in library books for the increasing population of those of advanced age, to providing services such as job retraining services. They considered how these services will be used and needed by people who come from different countries and different languages and who need a place to tap into the larger society.

Clearly it is important, as we think in terms of diversity, to invest on an unprecedented scale in our human resources, in our human capital. That means schools, and community colleges, and technical training institutions, and higher education, and adult literacy, and parental training for young people in school. There are very few communities in America, none that I know, that have a plan for their human capital as sophisticated as that for streets or parks or library expansion or any other dimension of their physical capital base. No city that I know of in America has set forth a plan for reducing poverty by 25 percent or setting out a plan to address social services expectations over a 10 or 15 or a 20 year period.

Clearly, our corporations and business sector must involve itself in a new understanding of how it functions in an age of diversity. A new book by Ann Morrison, *The New Leaders: Guidelines On Leadership Diversity in America*, sets forward what multiculturalism means for corporations. "Multicultural approaches" she says, "are the highest evolution of corporate thinking about diversity, an increasing consciousness and appreciation of differences that are associated with heritage, characteristics, and values of different groups as well as respecting the uniqueness of each individual." This is very interesting in contrast to corporate models that demand assimilation of different persons, of minority persons, in effect saying, "This is our corporate culture; if you want to come here, you change." Now organizations themselves recognize that, by allowing people to be themselves, they will be able to tap the creativity, the spirit of change that people bring to the organization. Rather than forcing people to change to fit some outdated corporate culture, they can create a new sense of openness, a new sense of inclusiveness about the corporate setting itself.

Where these things occur, they will occur because top management has decided that it is important for the organization to promote diversity. They have allowed the creation of internal advocacy groups or task forces on these subjects. They have put an emphasis upon keeping employment statistics in accurate ways so it is possible to gauge their progress and to keep people accountable. They have incorporated diversity into performance evaluation goals and ratings so that people can be reviewed for promotion purposes as they head a division, a line department, or a staff organization not just on the function that they are carrying out, but also on what kind of progress they have made on these important corporate and national goals.

Corporations that are working on this area work hard on development of people training programs, and network and support programs within the organization. They offer a fast track for potential prospects, for people of color brought into the organization. They provide formal mentoring programs that replace the informal structures that have long existed where the traditional route to promotion is to play golf on Saturday at the country club — a country club where people of color are not welcome and at which women who must attend to their children's needs on Saturdays have no opportunity to participate. Corporations that are sensitive to the promotion of persons of color recognize that these old-style approaches to mentoring are not going to work. And they focus on recruitment — targeted recruitment of women and persons of color. They engage in parallel hiring of people for top posts, sometimes finding the best talent there is and bringing it from outside the organization. They create partnerships with educational institutions, and they try to establish a reputation for themselves as an organization that is progressive on issues of diversity so that people are attracted to the organization instead of put off by its reputation as a place that is unattractive and uninviting.

All of these are the concrete kinds of things that we must do as we attempt to create a society that responds to the reality of the demographic changes upon us. It is diverse, not just in statistics, but diverse in leadership, and diverse in spirit. Each of you in this room must play a role, a role as an honest broker, a role as a truth teller. There is a temptation for professionals to hide behind the technical and professional imperatives of their job or assignment. But you must go beyond the technical and professional advice to [take] real leadership on this issue — to be truth tellers, bargainers, mediators, negotiators, guardians of a public ethic that shapes public ideas of justice and due process in an age of diversity. Many of you in this room have the positioning to articulate a vision of a fair and inclusive society. If not people like you, then who? You can choose to hide behind the role of neutral professional, guardian of the budget, producer of a product for a corporation or, on the other hand, you can choose to be part of the solution that advances this nation's most treasured ideals …

America's Immigration Story: Still the Melting Pot

By Everett C. Ladd for the Christian Science Monitor, August 4, 1995 (Reprinted with permission).

For some years now, the press has told the American immigration story largely in terms of problems: the sheer numbers of immigrants; the "threat" to jobs of native-born Americans; whether the melting pot will hold this time around; whether "melting pot" is even the right metaphor or objective.

All this hand-wringing is unfortunate ... and misleading. It's misleading, in the first instance, because it's so ahistorical. America is built on succeeding waves of immigration. The immigrant experience not only hasn't weakened or fundamentally altered the country; it has strengthened and renewed it. This isn't pious hope, but empirical reality. It's possible, of course, that this time the nation may not hold in its historic form. But since it has held every previous time, the preliminary judgment surely must go to those who expect it will again. For one thing, current immigration isn't unusually high by past standards. Indeed, it's the immigration level of 1950 - 1970 that's aberrational. The percentage of resident population that is foreign-born is smaller today than in any preceding decade prior to 1950.

To be sure, in preceding eras immigration inspired much tut-tutting, and sometimes worse — nasty nativist reactions. That only makes current coverage even more ahistorical. We have been through it so many times before, we should have learned by now that anxieties — including legitimate ones — arise about the future of a nation to which so many Americans are so committed. The historical record, however, should make us confident about our current experience.

The English philosopher and commentator, G.K. Chesterton, visited America in 1921, and a year later published a famous assessment of the country's immigrant experience. He noted that the U.S. had been engaged in an experiment — "the experiment of a democracy of diverse races which has been compared to a melting-pot" [*What I Saw in America*, 1922, p.8]. Then, he got to the heart of the matter, more cleanly and clearly than most analysts have: "But even that metaphor implies that the pot itself is of a certain shape and a certain substance; a pretty solid substance. The melting pot must not melt." It had shown no signs of melting, Chesterton thought. Its original form, which could be traced back to the nation's founding, was still firm.

The confusion to which many have succumbed as they've witnessed successive waves in our immigration involves a misunderstanding of America's substance. Were it based on ethnicity, there would indeed be problems as the ethnic mix changed. Were America primarily an ethnic entity, large-scale immigration could easily transform it. In fact, the U.S. isn't a different nation than it was in 1790, and we need to understand why.

America is an idea — a set of beliefs about people and their relationships and the kind of society which holds the best hope of satisfying the needs each of us brings as an individual. Were this idea unsuccessful in the marketplace — were later arrivals, or any large segment of the population, to lose confidence in the idea — the pot would melt. America might not cease to be a nation, but it would cease to be that of historic form. The simple empirical fact, however, is that the American idea remains wildly attractive.

This has been demonstrated anew by a fine survey taken by the Gallup Organization (for CNN and *USA Today*) of a large cross-section of foreign-born Americans. The Gallup study tells an immigration story far different from much of the current com-

mentary. Immigrants say that they came to America seeking economic opportunity and freedom for themselves and their children, and that they have not been disappointed. They say they've encountered some discrimination, but that on the whole they have been welcomed. *They affirm traditional American values and display even more optimism about the American experiment than much of the native-born population.* All this isn't surprising, of course; the allure of the experiment brought so many here in the first place.

Census data also reveal flaws in the current telling of the immigration story. They document that current immigration is not high by historic standards, and show how much the U.S. has gained in immediate socio-economic terms. Looking at educational background, foreign-born Americans resemble almost exactly the native-born populace in the proportions having college degrees. They resemble the native-born, too, in income levels. Some newcomers start low in income and education, of course, but the U.S. is a magnet drawing people of already substantial attainment. Indeed, if the Census data raise any concern, it's that we are too much the beneficiary of a massive "brain drain."

Like any country, the United States has social problems in ample measure. Our immigration story, though, is one of great success. Our "experiment of a democracy of diverse races" lays fair claim to being one of history's great successes, as well as the defining element of the American nation. Where prudent reforms are in order, we should make them. But as we do, we shouldn't lose sight of our extraordinary successes.

U.S. Department of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service Sample Citizenship Questions

The following questions are examples of what may be asked of you on your examination for citizenship. You may practice for the exam by attempting to answer them. Your actual test may have questions that are *not* on this document.

1. What are the colors of our flag?
2. How many stars are there on our flag?
3. What color are the stars on our flag?
4. What do the stars on the flag mean?
5. How many stripes are on the flag?
6. What color are the stripes?
7. What do the stripes on the flag mean?
8. How many states are there in the union?
9. What is the 4th of July?
10. What is the date of Independence Day?
11. Independence from whom?
12. What country did we fight during the Revolutionary War?
13. Who was the first President of the United States?
14. Who is the President of the United States today?
15. Who is the Vice President of the United States today?
16. Who elects the President of the United States?
17. Who becomes President of the United States if the President should die?
18. For how long do we elect the President?
19. What is the Constitution?
20. Can the Constitution be changed?
21. What do we call a change to the Constitution?
22. How many changes or amendments are there to the Constitution?
23. How many branches are there in our government?
24. What are the three branches of our government?
25. What is the legislative branch of our government?
26. Who makes the laws in the United States?
27. What is Congress?
28. What are the duties of Congress?
29. Who elects Congress?
30. How many senators are there in Congress?
31. Can you name the two senators from your state?
32. For how long do we elect each senator?
33. How many representatives are there in Congress?
34. For how long do we elect the representatives?
35. What is the executive branch of our government?
36. What is the judiciary branch of our government?
37. What are the duties of the Supreme Court?
38. What is the supreme law of the United States?
39. What is the Bill of Rights?
40. What is the capital of your state?
41. Who is the current governor of your state?
42. Who becomes President of the U.S.A. if the President and Vice President should die?
43. Who is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court?
44. Can you name the thirteen original states?
45. Who said: "Give me liberty or give me death"?
46. Which countries were our enemies during World War II?
47. What are the 49th and 50th States of the Union?
48. How many terms can a President serve?
49. Who was Martin Luther King, Jr.?
50. Who is the head of your local government?
51. According to the Constitution, a person must meet certain requirements in order to be eligible to become President. Name one of these requirements.

52. Why are there 100 senators in the Senate?
53. Who selects the Supreme Court Justices?
54. How many Supreme Court Justices are there?
55. Why did the pilgrims come to America?
56. What is the head executive of a state government called?
57. What is the head executive of a city government called?
58. What holiday was celebrated for the first time by the American colonists?
59. Who was the main writer of the Declaration of Independence?
60. When was the Declaration of Independence adopted?
61. What is the basic belief of the Declaration of Independence?
62. What is the National Anthem of the United States?
63. Who wrote *The Star Spangled Banner?*
64. Where does Freedom of Speech come from?
65. What is the minimum voting age in the United States?
66. Who signs bills into law?
67. What is the highest court in the United States?
68. Who was President during the Civil War?
69. What did the Emancipation Proclamation do?
70. What special group advises the President?
71. Which President is called "the Father of Our Country"?
72. What Immigration and Naturalization Service form is used to apply for naturalized citizenship?
73. Who helped the pilgrims in America?
74. What is the name of the ship that brought the pilgrims to America?
75. What were the 13 original states of the United States called?
76. Name 3 rights or freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.
77. Who has the power to declare war?
78. What kind of government does the United States have?
79. Which President freed the slaves?
80. In what year was the Constitution written?
81. What are the first 10 Amendments to the Constitution called?
82. Name one purpose of the United Nations.
83. Where does Congress meet?
84. Whose rights are guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights?
85. What is the introduction to the Constitution called?
86. Name one benefit of being a citizen of the United States.
87. What is the most important right granted to U.S. citizens?
88. What is the United States Capitol?
89. What is the White House?
90. Where is the White House located?
91. What is the name of the President's official home?
92. Name one right guaranteed by the First Amendment.
93. Who is the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. military?
94. Which President was the first Commander-in-Chief of the military?
95. In what month do we vote for the President?
96. In what month is the new President inaugurated?
97. How many times may a senator be re-elected?
98. How many times may a congressman be re-elected?
99. What are the 2 major political parties in the U.S. today?
100. How many states are there in the United States?

Here are the correct answers. Match your responses against those given to check your accuracy.

1. Red, white and blue
2. 50
3. White
4. One for each state in the Union
5. 13
6. Red and white
7. They represent the original 13 states
8. 50
9. Independence Day
10. July 4th
11. England
12. England
13. George Washington
14. Bill Clinton
15. Al Gore
16. The Electoral College
17. Vice President
18. Four years
19. The supreme law of the land
20. Yes
21. An amendment
22. 27
23. 3
24. Legislative, Executive and Judiciary
25. Congress
26. Congress
27. The Senate and the House of Representatives
28. To make laws
29. The people
30. 100
31. (Determine by locality)
32. 6 years
33. 435
34. 2 years
35. The President, Cabinet and departments under the cabinet members
36. The Supreme Court
37. To interpret laws
38. The Constitution
39. The first 10 Amendments of the Constitution
40. (Determine by locality)
41. (Determine by locality)
42. Speaker of the House of Representatives
43. William Rehnquist
44. Connecticut, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Rhode Island and Maryland
45. Patrick Henry
46. Germany, Italy and Japan
47. Hawaii and Alaska
48. 2
49. A civil rights leader
50. (Determine by locality)
51. Must be a natural-born citizen of the United States; must be at least 35 years old by the time he/she will serve; must have lived in the United States for at least 14 years
52. Two from each state
53. Appointed by the President
54. 9
55. For religious freedom
56. Governor
57. Mayor
58. Thanksgiving
59. Thomas Jefferson
60. July 4, 1776
61. That all men are created equal
62. *The Star Spangled Banner*
63. Francis Scott Key

64. The Bill of Rights
65. 18
66. The President
67. The Supreme Court
68. Abraham Lincoln
69. Freed many slaves
70. The Cabinet
71. George Washington
72. Form N-400 (Application for Naturalization)
73. The American Indians (Native Americans)
74. The *Mayflower*
75. Colonies
76. (a) Freedom of speech, press, religion, peaceable assembly and requesting change of government

    (b) The right to bear arms (the right to have weapons or own a gun, though subject to certain regulations)

    (c) The government may not quarter, or house, soldiers in citizen's homes during peacetime without their consent

    (d) The government may not search or take a person's property without a warrant

    (e) A person may not be tried twice for the same crime and does not have to testify against him/herself

    (f) A person charged with a crime still has some rights, such as the right to a fair trial and to have a lawyer

    (g) The right to trial by jury, in most cases

    (h) Protection of people against excessive or unreasonable fines or cruel and unusual punishment

    (i) The people have rights other than those mentioned in the Constitution

    (j) Any power not given to the federal government by the Constitution is a power of either the states or the people
77. The Congress
78. Republican
79. Abraham Lincoln
80. 1787
81. The Bill of Rights
82. For countries to discuss and try to resolve world problems; to provide economic aid to many countries
83. In the Capitol in Washington, D.C.
84. Everyone (citizens and non-citizens living in the U.S.)
85. The Preamble
86. Obtain federal government jobs; travel with a U.S. passport; petition for close relatives to come to the U.S. to live
87. The right to vote
88. The place where Congress meets
89. The President's official home
90. 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. Northwest, Washington, D.C.
91. The White House
92. Freedom of: Speech, Press, Religion, Peaceable Assembly, and Requesting Change of the Government
93. The President
94. George Washington
95. November
96. January
97. There is no limit
98. There is no limit
99. Democratic and Republican
100. 50

Declaration of Independence

In Congress, July 4, 1776,

The unanimous declaration of the thirteen United States of America

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government.The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. — He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. — He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature. a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. — He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. — He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. — He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within. — He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. — He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. — He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. — He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance. — He has kept among us,

in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures. — He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power. — He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation: For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us. — He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. — He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation. — He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. — He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. — In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. — Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Selected Amendments

The Bill of Rights

Amendment I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

Amendment III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Amendment VI
In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense.

Amendment VII
In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment VIII
Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IX
The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X
The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The first ten amendments (the Bill of Rights) were adopted in 1791.

Other Amendments

Amendment XIII (Adopted 1865)
Section 1
Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2
Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV (Adopted 1868)
Section 1
All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2
Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3
No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4
The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5
The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV (Adopted 1870)

Section 1
The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2
The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIX (Adopted 1920)

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXIV (Adopted 1964)

Section 1
The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2
The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXVI (Adopted 1971)

Section 1
The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2
The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Selected Statements About Equality

Excerpt from the Declaration of Independence

July 4, 1776

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Abraham Lincoln

The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Robert Yellowtail

Address before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs September 9, 1919

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the American Indian, also a creature of God, claims, as you yourselves do, to be endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He further maintains as his inherent right to choose the manner in which he shall seek his own happiness …

I hold that the Crow Indian Reservation is a separate semisovereign nation in itself, not belonging to any State, nor confined within the boundary lines of any State of the Union, and that until such proper cessions, as had been agreed to and as expressed in our covenant, have been duly complied with no Senator, or anybody else, so far as that is concerned, has any right to claim the right to tear us asunder by the continued introduction of bills here without our consent and simply because of our geographical proximity to his State or his home, or because his constituents prevail upon him so to act; neither has he the right to dictate to us what we shall hold as our final homesteads in this our last stand against the ever-encroaching hand, nor continue to disturb our peace of mind by a constant agitation to deprive us of our lands, that were, to begin with, ours, not his, and not given to us by anybody. This Nation should be only too ready, as an atonement for our treatment in the past, to willingly grant to the Indian people of this country their unquestionable and undeniable right to determine how much of their own lands they shall retain as their homes and how much they shall dispose of to outsiders.

Martin Luther King

"I Have A Dream," August 20, 1963

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.

But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. …

In a sense we have come to our nation's Capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." We refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check — a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. …

I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal." …

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today. …

Plan de Delano

Proclamation issued by La Causa, when Cesar Chavez's National Farm Workers Association voted to join the Filipino grape pickers who were on strike, 1965

We, the undersigned, gathered in Pilgrimage to the capital of the State in Sacramento in penance for all the failings of Farm Workers as free and sovereign men, do solemnly declare before the nation to which we belong, the propositions we have formulated to end the injustice that oppresses us.

We are conscious of the historical significance of our Pilgrimage. It is clearly evident that our path travels through a valley well known to all Mexican farm workers. We know all of these towns of Delano, Fresno, Modesto, Stockton and Sacramento, because along this very same road, in this very same valley, the Mexican race has sacrificed itself for the last hundred years. Our sweat and our blood have fallen on this land to make other men rich. This Pilgrimage is a witness to the suffering we have seen for generations.

The Penance we accept symbolizes the suffering we shall have in order to bring justice to these same towns, to this same valley. The Pilgrimage we make symbolizes the long historical road we have travelled in this valley alone, and the long road we have yet to travel, with much penance, in order to bring about

the Revolution we need, and for which we present the propositions in the following PLAN:

1. This is the beginning of a social movement in fact and not in pronouncement. We seek our basic, God-given rights as human beings. Because we have suffered — and are not afraid to suffer — in order to survive, we are ready to give up everything, even our lives, in our fight for social justice. We shall do it without violence because that is our destiny. To the ranchers, and to all those who oppose us, we say, in the words of Benito Juárez, "EL RESPETO AL DERECHO AJENO ES LA PAZ" (Respect for the rights of others is the way to peace).

Sojourner Truth

"Ain't I A Woman?" speech given at the Woman's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1852.

That man over there say
    a woman needs to be helped into carriages
and lifted over ditches
    and to have the best place everywhere.
Nobody ever helped me into carriages
    or over mud puddles
        or gives me a best place …

And ain't I a woman?
    Look at me
Look at my arm!
    I have plowed and planted
and gathered into barns
    and no man could head me …
And ain't I a woman?
    I could work as much
and eat as much as a man —
    when I could get to it —
and bear the lash as well
    and ain't I a woman?

I have born 13 children
    and seen most all sold into slavery
and when I cried out a mother's grief
    none but Jesus heard me …
and ain't I a woman?
    that little man in black there say
a woman can't have as much rights as a man
    cause Christ wasn't a woman
Where did your Christ come from?
    From God and a woman!
Man had nothing to do with him!
    If the first woman God ever made
was strong enough to turn the world
    upside down, all alone
together women ought to be able to turn it
    rightside up again.

Words and thoughts attributed to Sojourner Truth. Rendered into poetic form by Erlene Stetson.

Suggested Resources for Further Discussion and Action

This is only a sampling of the many good resources available. Although this list is wide-ranging, it is far from comprehensive, and we apologize for the many omissions.

Readings and Films

Catalogs/Periodicals

City Lore, *The Culture Catalog*, bi-annual mail order catalog. Books, videos, and audiotapes about America's many cultural groups, geared to children and adolescents. Also includes "how-to" books on oral history, folklore, storytelling and more. For free copy, contact City Lore, 72 E. First St., New York, NY 10003; 800/333-5982; fax 212/529-5062.

The National Association for Community Mediation, the *1996 Community Mediation Directory*. For information about community mediation programs across the U.S., contact NAFCM, 726 M Street, N.W., Suite 500, Washington, D.C. 20036-4502; 202/467-6226; <nafcm@igc.apc.org>

National Association of Human Rights Workers. *The Journal of Intergroup Relations*. Contact the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, 220 Parsons Ave, Columbus, Ohio 43215.

Poverty & Race Research Action Council, *Poverty & Race*, bi-monthly publication. No charge for newsletter, but donations encouraged. Contact PRRAC, 1711 Connecticut Ave. NW #207, Washington, DC 20009; 202/387-9887; fax 202/387-0764.

Southern Poverty Law Center, *Teaching Tolerance*, bi-annual publication. Articles, case studies and resources to help adults teach tolerance. Mailed at no charge to educators and groups exploring related issues. Contact Teaching Tolerance, 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104; fax 334/264-3121.

Guides/Curricula

American Library Association. *The Nation That Works*. A reading, viewing, and discussion series about American pluralism and identity developed for public libraries. Inquire at your local library, or contact the American Library Association, Public Programs Office, 50 E. Huron St., Chicago, IL 60611; 312/280-5054.

American Social History Project. *Who Built America?*, a multimedia history project emphasizing the history of America's working people. *Who Built America?* textbooks and CD-Roms sold commercially. To inquire about films, classroom materials, and faculty development programs, contact Edith DeGrammont, ASHP, 99 Hudson, 3rd Fl., NY NY 10013; 212/966-4248 x201.

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project, Brown University. *A More Perfect Union: Shaping American Government*. Curriculum resource unit sets the framing of the U.S. Constitution in context, and helps high school students find parallels today. Includes reproducible student text and teacher's resource book. Contact Choices, Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912; 401/863-3155; fax 401/863-1247. http://www.brown.edu/Research/Choices/.

DuPraw, Marcelle E. and Lester P. Schoene, Jr. *Facing Racial and Cultural Conflict: Tools for Rebuilding Community*. Strategies for handling inter-racial and cross-cultural conflict in your community. Contact the Program for Community Problem Solving, 915 15th St. NW, Suite 601, Washington, D.C. 20005; 202/783-2961; fax 202/347-2161.

National Endowment for the Humanities. *Resource Kit for the National Conversation on American Pluralism and Identity*. Developed to support community-based conversations about American pluralism and identity. Contents include founding documents, brief essays, conversation-starting questions and activities, and suggestions for readings and films. Organizing tips also included. Call NEH at 800/NEH-1121 to obtain free copy.

Network of Educators' Committees on Central America (202/429-0137). *Caribbean Connection Series*. Excellent curriculum guides on Puerto Rico, Haiti and Jamaica, focusing on history and culture, and including teaching ideas and bibliographies. Useful for teachers and general readers. Contact Citylore, *Culture Catalog*, 800/333-5982.

Public Affairs Television. *Talking About Genesis: A Resource Guide*. Introduction by Bill Moyers. New York: Doubleday, 1996.

Reese, Renford, *Colorful Flags: Breaking Down Racial Mistrust*. A human relations module aimed at breaking down communication barriers and fostering respect. Available from the Center for Multiethnic and Transnational Studies, University of Southern California. 213/740-1068; or fax 213/740-5810.

Study Circles Resource Center. *Planning a Community-wide Study Circle Program: A Step-by-Step Guide* (1996). Contact information for SCRC appears on the back cover.

Articles/Reports

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Austin, Bobby William, ed. *Repairing the Breach: Key Ways to Support Family Life, Reclaim Our Streets and Rebuild Civil Society in America's Communities*. Report of the National Task Force on African-American Men and Boys. Dillon, CO: Alpine Guild, Inc., 1996. Contact the Alpine Guild; 800/869-9559.

Betances, Dr. Samuel. "Diversity Reading Clubs," Michigan Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development,

FOCUS (Spring 1994). Contact Wayne County RESA, 33500 Van Born, Wayne, MI 48184; 313/467-1300 (Olga Moir).

Dory, Michelle Lebanon. *Conflict and Culture: A Literature Review and Bibliography.* University of Victoria, Institute for Dispute Resolution. Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, 1992.

Institute for the Study of Civic Values. *Building Community in the American Tradition.* Contact the Institute for the Study of Civic Values, 1218 Chestnut St., #702, Philadelphia, PA 19107; 215/238-1434. <edcivic@libertynet.org> or http://libertynet.org/~edcivic/iscvhome.html.

Kretzmann, John P., and John L. McKnight. *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Towards Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets.* Chicago: ACTA Publications, 1993. Contact ACTA Publishers, 800/397-2282.

Ladd, Everett Carll. *The American Ideology: An Exploration of the Origins, Meaning, and Role of American Political Ideas.* Storrs, CT: The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 1994. Contact the Roper Center, 860/486-4440.

McCoy, Martha L., and Robert F. Sherman. "Bridging the Divides of Race and Ethnicity," *National Civic Review* (Spring-Summer 1994). Contact Study Circles Resource Center, P.O. Box 203, Rte. 169, Pomfret, CT 06258; 860/928-2616; fax 860/928-3713.

Myers, Sondra. "The Power of Conversation," *The Key Reporter.* 60 (Autumn 1994). Contact the Phi Beta Kappa Society, 1811 Q Street NW, Washington, DC 20009; 202/265-3808.

National League of Cities Advisory Council. *Diversity & Governance: Changing Populations and the Future of Cities and Towns.* Washington DC: National League of Cities, 1991. Contact the National League of Cities, Publication Center, P.O. Box 491, Arnapolis Junction, MD 20701; 301/725 4299; fax 301/206-9789.

Porter, Jeanne L. *Building Diverse Communities.* Charlottesville, VA: Pew Partnership for Civic Change, 1995. Contact Pew Partnership for Civic Change, 145-C Ednam Dr., Charlottesville, VA 22903; 804/971-2073; fax 804/971-7042.

The Community Leadership Co. "How to Reach Across Racial and Economic Barriers," *Community Leadership Quarterly 2,* (no. 3). Contact The Community Leadership Co., P.O. Box 1687, Decatur, GA 30031-1687; 404/371-9534; fax 404/373-3804; <71053.2400@compuserve.com>

The National Conference. *Taking America's Pulse: A Summary Report of The National Conference Survey On Inter-Group Relations.* Contact The National Conference, 71 Fifth Avenue New York, NY 10003; 212/206-0006; fax 212/255-6177.

"Across the Racial Divide," *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition,* October 16-22, 1995. A series of articles by Richard Morin, Malcolm Gladwell, Kevin Merida. Includes a report by Mario A. Brossard, assistant director of Washington Post polling.

Books

Non-Fiction

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Adams, Don and Arlene Goldbard. *Crossroads: Reflections on Political Culture.* Talmage, California: DNA Press, 1990.

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Lantieri, Linda and Janet Patti, *Waging Peace in Our Schools.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1996.

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Films/Videos

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Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years 1954 to 1965 (1986) 6 programs, 60 min. each, and *Eyes on the Prize II: America at the Racial Crossroads 1965 to 1985* (1990) 8 programs, 60 min. each. Produced by Blackside, Inc. For purchase, contact PBS Video, 800/344-3337.

My America … or Honk if You Love Buddha (1997) 85 min. Produced and directed by Renee Tajima-Pena. Call 310/479-2040; <tajimapena@aol.com>. An irreverent chronicle of the filmmaker's travels across the U.S. in search of *Asian* America.

The Ride (1996) 8 episodes, 28 min each. Produced and directed by Shauna Garr. Distributed by Select Media, 800/707-6334. A documentary journey through the U.S. from a teenage point-of-view. Teens learn about their cultures, communities and families.

Secret Daughter (1996) 60 min. Produced and directed by June Cross. Frontline, WGBH, Boston. For purchase, contact PBS Video, 800-344-3337. An autobiographical documentary about the filmmaker's mixed-race heritage.

Not in Our Town I (1995) 27 min. and *Not in Our Town II* (1996) 60 min. Produced and distributed by California Working Group, 5867 Ocean View Dr., Oakland, CA 94618; 510/547 8484; fax 510/547-8844;<wedothework@igc.org>;http://www.igc.org/am/niot/html. Two documentaries shown on public TV that portray community efforts to combat intolerance and hate crimes. Produced as part of a nationwide campaign to end prejudice and stimulate citizen action. Teacher's Viewing Guides also available.

The Uprising of '34 (1995) 87 min. A film by George Stoney, Judith Helfand and Susanne Rostock. Distributed by First Run/Icarus, 212/727-1711. Documentary that recovers the history of the General Textile Strike of 1934, an important but little-discussed event in labor history.

Toward a More Perfect Union: An Invitation to Conversation (1996) 23 min. Video companion to this guide. When used as part of a study circle, copies available from Study Circles Resource Center. All other users call Arcadia Film Library, 201/652-1989. The long version of this program is *Talk to Me: Americans in Conversation* (1996) 60 min. Produced and directed by Andrea Simon, Arcadia Pictures. Distributed by the Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, #506, NY NY 10019; 212/246-5522. A freewheeling documentary journey exploring what it means to be an American as the 20th Century draws to a close.

The following distributors, among others, offer a wide selection of interesting films and videos: The Cinema Guild (212/246-5522); First Run/Icarus (212/727-1711); National Asian American Telecommunications Assoc. (NAATA) (415/552-9550); New Day Films (212/645-8210); Third World Newsreel (212/947-9277); Women Make Movies (212/925-0606).

Other Resources

Call the Library of Congress for copies of the Constitution of the United States in English and in 20 different foreign languages. Dan Zafren, Dir. of Legal Research, 202/707-4351.

The Bureau of the Census can provide demographic information and educational materials to aid your discussions. The materials are often easy to use and are sent free of charge. Contact the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233; 301/457-2422.

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Organizations

Civic Organizations

This is only a sampling of the many organizations working around the nation to build community, promote civic dialogue, and combat prejudice. All offer assistance to the public and can also provide referrals.

To seek assistance or information regarding racial prejudice or discrimination, here are some ideas. Check with state Attorney General's offices or municipal offices of human relations or economic opportunity. Contact regional offices of the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Dept. of Justice. Talk to councils of churches, or related faith or interfaith organizations. Contact the NAACP, the Urban League, the YWCA (a long time opponent of racism), the National Council of La Raza, or other established civil and human rights organizations.

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102
215/241-7000; fax 215/241-7275
<afscinfo@afsc.org>; http://www.afsc.org/

AFSC regions around the country provide many different programs and services related to addressing the root causes of poverty, injustice, and war. Contact the main office for information about activities in your region.

A World of Difference Institute
Anti-Defamation League
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
212/885-7800; fax 212/490-0187; www.adl.org

Creates and distributes educational materials that focus on issues of diversity. Developed by leading educators, the materials are designed to promote self-esteem and provide students with the tools to become competent citizens.

Alliance For National Renewal
National Civic League
1445 Market Street, suite 300
Denver, CO 80202-1728
303/571-4343; http://www.ncl.org/anr

A network of more than 150 community-building organizations working to address the serious issues facing America and its communities. Founded in 1994, the Alliance is a unique resource that can quickly link you to some of the most important and innovative organizations working to revitalize our society. Also inquire about *The Kitchen Table Newsletter*, ANR's *Community Resource Manual* and booklets on special projects.

Center for Living Democracy
RR #1 Black Fox Road
Brattleboro, VT 05301
802/254-1234; fax 802/254-1227; http://www.sover.net/~cld

The Center promotes the ideas, skills, and practices of democracy. Contact the Center to learn about its new American News Service, interactive television series called "Grassroots Journal," training workshops, guides and action tools available through the Learning Center, Learning Tools Catalog, and more.

Civic Network Television
21 Dupont Circle, 4th Floor
Washington DC 20036
800/746-6286; fax 202/887-5901; <civicnt@aol.com>

CNT uses technology to help the civic community deal more effectively with today's problems. Working in tandem with community sites around the country, CNT links people in a single electronic classroom, town meeting, workshop or conference. Call to inquire about CNT sites in your area or to become affiliated with the network.

Civic Practices Network
Center for Human Resources
Brandeis University
60 Turner St.
Waltham MA 02154
617/736-4890 (M. Bass); fax 617/736-3773; http://www.cpn.org

An online journal that brings together innovators and educators to share the tools, stories, and best practices of community empowerment and civic renewal. Contact CPN or log on to its website to learn about civic work and learning taking place around the country: real life stories, practical tools, essays, studies, manuals and more.

Hope in the Cities
1103 Sunset Ave.
Richmond, VA 23221
804/358-1764; fax 804/358-1769
<102732.1363@compuserve.com>

The success of interracial work in Richmond, VA led to Hope in the Cities' national initiative to "heal the heart of America" through honest conversation on race, reconciliation and responsibility. Citizens in cities around the country are signing up. Publications, videos, networking, support services, and more are available.

Libraries for the Future
121 W. 27th St. Suite 1102
New York, NY 10001
212/352-2330; fax 212/352-2342
http://www.inch.com/~lff/

LFF is dedicated to raising public awareness of and involvement in the public library. Viewing the public library as "workshop for democracy," LFF initiates numerous programs to ensure the future of America's libraries and to connect libraries to their communities and other vital institutions of civic involvement and learning.

The National Conference
71 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10003
212/206-0006; fax 212/255-6177; http://members.aol.com/natlconf

The National Conference (founded in 1927 as The National Conference of Christians and Jews) is a human relations organization dedicated to fighting bias, bigotry and racism in America. Contact the national office or one of the many state branches for information about public programs, publications and school curriculum.

National Institute for Dispute Resolution
1726 M St., NW, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20036-4502
202/466-4764; fax 202/466-4769

A national center of expertise, resources, and technical assistance on consensus building and conflict resolution. NIDR helps both providers and consumers of these services deepen their respective capacities to use consensus building and conflict resolution tools effectively. NIDR's Collaborative Communities Program focuses on helping communities use these powerful tools in pursuit of sustainability.

National Issues Forums
100 Commons Rd.
Dayton, OH 45459-2777
800/433-7834; fax 937/439-9804; http://www.nifi.org/

NIF publishes issue booklets to aid balanced discussion on important social issues, such as immigration, poverty, the economy, education, etc. The material is geared for use in classroom debates, group discussions, individual reading, preparation of speeches and term papers, and community forums. Call NIF to inquire about the booklets and other publications and programs.

Study Circles Resource Center
Box 203, Rte. 169
Pomfret, CT 06258
860/928-2616; fax 860/928-3713
<scrc@neca.com>

The Study Circle Resource Center (SCRC) helps communities use study circles — small, democratic, highly participatory discussions — to involve large numbers of citizens in public dialogue and problem-solving on critical issues such as crime, race, education, and youth issues. SCRC staff members work with community leaders at every stage of creating a community-wide study circle program; helping organizers network between communities; working to develop strong coalitions within communities; advising on material development; and writing letters of support for funding proposals. SCRC also provides free discussion materials to organizers of carefully designed community-wide study circle programs. Please call for more information

History and Culture

Do you want to draw on history and culture to enrich your conversations? Poetry and literature, films, music, art, oral histories and more provide great food for thought and talk.

Public libraries are good places to start your search for background and discussion materials. In addition to the written word, many libraries also house films and videos, oral histories, local history materials, and more. Also check state archives for oral histories, and local history museums and historical societies to learn about the exhibits, publications and educational programs they have to offer. Call local public radio stations for copies of feature stories that relate to your issues. Talk to staff at your state humanities or arts councils to learn about artists, speakers, public programs, and publications. Fees may be involved, but they are likely to be modest.

The following is a selected list of some specialized resources:

American Folklife Center
The Library of Congress
Washington, D.C. 20540-4610
Reference Service 202/707-5510; Admin. Office 202/707-6590
http://lcweb.loc.gov/folklife

Created by Congress to preserve and present American folklife, the Center incorporates an archive of music and other ethnographic materials, and undertakes a wide variety of public programs, exhibitions, training and other efforts. Contact the Center about its own facilities and programs, and also for information about your topics of interest.

Appalshop
306 Madison Street
Whitesburg, KY 41858
606/633-0108; fax 606/633-1009
<appalshop@aol.com>

Founded in 1969, Appalshop is the place to call for works on Appalachian culture and social issues. Appalshop is a quality producer of films, television, theater, music, media training workshops, community festivals and more.

Association of Hispanic Arts (AHA)
173 East 116th Street
New York, NY 10029
212/860-5445; fax 212/427-2787

AHA is dedicated to the advancement of Latino arts, artists and arts organizations as an integral part of the cultural life of the nation. Contact AHA for information about its own programs and publications, and also for referrals.

Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services
(ACCESS) Attn: Cultural Arts Program
2651 Saulino Court
Dearborn, MI 48120
313/842-7010; fax 313/842-5150

ACCESS aims to foster greater understanding of Arab culture as it exists both here and in the Arab world. Contact the Cultural Arts Program for information, educational materials, and consultation. "Culture Kits" — containing aids for discussions about Arab history, culture, and contemporary life — are available for loan.

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies
18 South Seventh Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106
215/925-8090

The Balch Institute has long promoted greater intergroup understanding through its research, museum, and public programs about American ethnicity. In Philadelphia, contact the Institute about library resources, exhibits and educational programs. Outside the region, inquire about catalogs and publications.

Birmingham Civil Rights Institute
520 16th St. North
Birmingham, AL 35203
205/328-9696; fax 205/323-5219
<bcrimail.bham.lib.al.us>; http://bcri.bham.lib.al.us

BCRI is a museum, and a center for education, research and discussion about civil and human rights issues. Contact the Museum about their exhibitions and programs, and for information and referrals.

Bishop Museum
1525 Bernice Street
Honolulu, HI 96817-0916
808/847-3511; fax 808/841-8968
http://www.bishop.hawaii.org

Contact the Museum for publications and information on the natural and cultural history of Hawaii and the Pacific.

Center for the Study of Southern Culture
University, MI 38677
601/232-5993
<staff@barnard.cssc.olemiss.edu>; http://www.cssc.olemiss.edu

If you are seeking information, books, films, and other resources on Southern history and culture, the Center is an important resource. Its *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* was published by Chapel Hill Press in 1989, and is available in bookstores.

City Lore
72 East First Street
New York, NY 10003
800/333-5982; fax 212/529-5062
<citylore@aol.com>

Publisher of the mail order *Culture Catalog*, containing over 120 books and audiovisual materials for use in the classroom and at home. American ethnicities, oral history, music, folklore and community studies are all included. Teachers seeking referrals, materials, and consultation may want to contact City Lore's Center for Folkarts in Education at Bank Street College of Education, 212/875-4575.

Elder Share the Arts
57 Willoughby Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201
718/488-8565

ESTA is an innovator in connecting generations and cultures through "living history arts." In New York, contact ESTA to learn about programs in schools and senior centers. Outside the region, contact ESTA to receive publications and training manuals, and to learn about nationwide professional training services.

Facing History and Ourselves
16 Hurd Road
Brookline, MA 02146
617/232-1595
http://www.facing.inter.net

Facing History and Ourselves helps students make connections between history and the moral choices they confront in their own lives. Lessons of the Holocaust and other examples of genocide are used to help students and teachers examine racism, prejudice and antisemitism. For programs and publications, contact the national office in Brookline, MA, or branch offices in Chicago, Los Angeles, Memphis, New York and San Francisco.

Korean American Museum
3333 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90010
213/388-4229
<koma@koma.org>; http://www.koma.org

Contact the Museum for programs and information regarding the history and culture of Korean-Americans.

Museo de las Americas
861 Santa Fe Drive
Denver, CO 80204
303/571-4401; fax 303/607-9761

Established in 1994, this museum covers Latino art, history and culture through exhibitions and programs. Includes Latinos living in South and Central America, the Carribean, Mexico and the United States. Contact the Education Department at the Museum about their own programs, or for information and referrals.

Museum of Chinese in the Americas
70 Mulberry Street
New York, NY 10013
212/619-4785; fax 212/619-4720

A key resource for exhibitions, programs, and information regarding the experience of the Chinese in the Americas. The Museum itself is located in Manhattan's Chinatown, but its interests and concerns extend more broadly, and seek to incorporate the Chinese experience into the larger American history.

Museum of Tolerance
9786 West Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, CA 90035
310/553-8403

A unique museum and educational center, founded in 1993 to challenge visitors to confront bigotry and racism, and to understand the Holocaust. Numerous exhibits and programs focus on the creation of prejudice, on contemporary issues, and on the Holocaust. The Museum is the educational arm of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, an international center for Holocaust remembrance, the defense of human rights and the Jewish people. Contact the Wiesenthal Center at 310/553-9036; fax 310/553-4521.

National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center
1350 Brush Row Road
Wilberforce, OH 45384
937/376-4944

Opened in 1988, the Center is the only Congressionally-chartered African-American museum in the nation. Its mission is to educate the public about African-American history and culture. Contact the Museum for information about its facilities, programs and publications, and for referrals.

National Endowment for the Humanities
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506
Public Information Office (202) 606-8400 <info@neh.fed.us>
Division of Public Programs (202) 606-8267
<publicpgms@neh.fed.us>
NEH Main # 800-NEH-1121; TDD (202) 606-8282
http://www.neh.fed.us

The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) is an independent federal agency that supports research, education, preservation projects and public programs in the humanities. In addition to granting funds, NEH and its State Humanities Councils are valuable resources for information about programs, speakers, publications, exhibitions and more that explore American history and culture. Inquire about the bibliographies, conversation kits, resource guides, radio programs and more that were produced by grantees of the recent initiative called the "National Conversation on American Pluralism and Identity."

National Museum of the American Indian
One Bowling Green
New York, NY 10004
212/825-6700

This Smithsonian Institution museum focuses on the history and contemporary cultures of Native Americans. Contact the Museum about their programs and publications, and for information or referrals.

Oral History Association
P.O. Box 97234
Baylor University
Waco, TX 76798-7234
817/755-2764

Contact the OHA for leads to oral history collections and publications that feature your region or topic of interest.

Texas Folklife Resources
P.O. Box 49824
Austin, TX 78765
512/320-0022; fax 512/320-8164

TFR presents, preserves, and promotes the folk arts and folklife of Texas, focusing on the artistic heritage of all Texans. Contact TFR to learn about their concert tours, radio programs, and traveling exhibits and workshops.

Wing Luke Asian Museum
407 Seventh Ave.
South Seattle, WA 98104
206/623-5124; fax 206/623-4559

The only pan-Asian American museum in the U.S. devoted to Asian Pacific American heritage, culture, history and art, with projects inspired and created by community members. (Pan-Asian includes Cambodians, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Laotians, Pacific Islanders, South Asians, Southeast Asian hill tribes and Vietnamese.) Contact the Museum about their programs, and for information and referrals.

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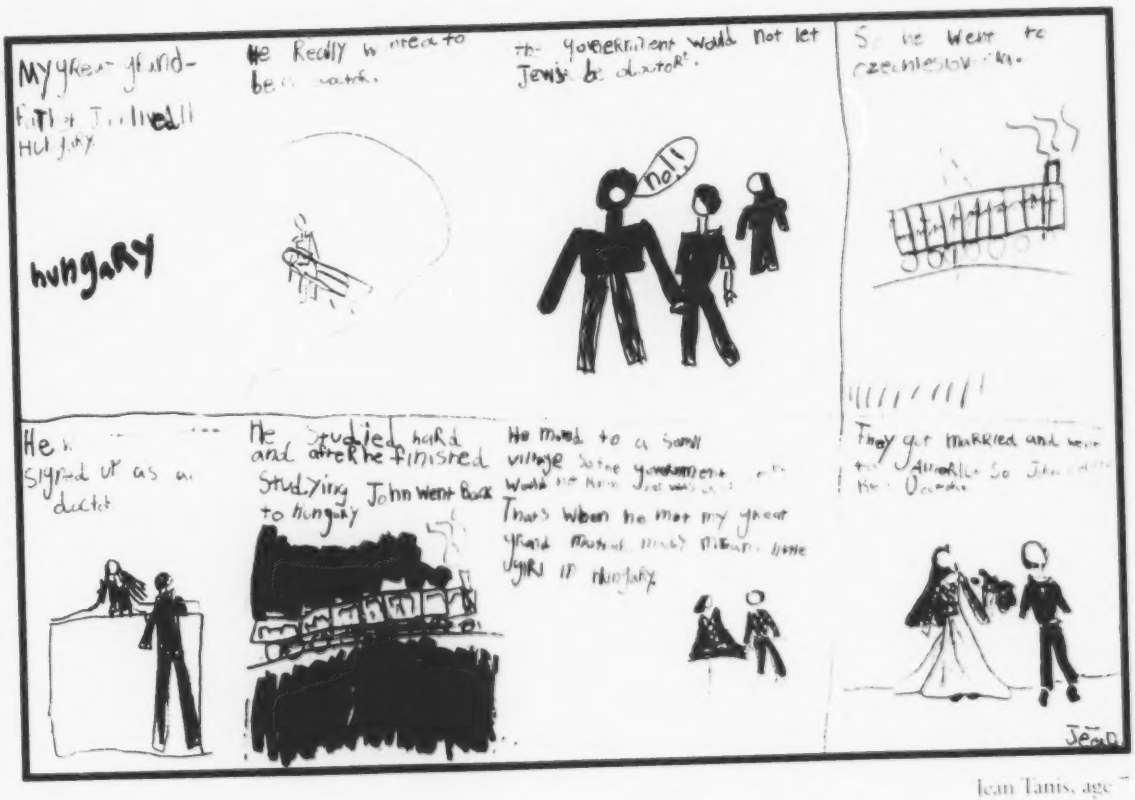
My great grand-
hungary
He Really wanted to be a doctor.
the government would not let Jews be doctor.
no!!
He
signed up as a doctor
He studied hard and after he finished studying John went back to hungary
He moved to a small village
That's when he met my great grand
Jean

Jean Tanis, age

Study Circles Resource Center, a project of the Topsfield Foundation, Inc.
P.O. Box 203, Pomfret, CT 06258-0203; 860/928-2616 (phone); 860/928-3713 (fax); or <scrc@neca.com>

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